

IMPORTANT ARTICLES FROM

BOLŞEVİK PARTİZAN



► **Fight the Imperialist System!**

- UN Human Rights Conference in Vienna
- UN Environmental Conference in Berlin
- UN Women's Conference in Peking
- On Workers Movement in Germany

► **Struggle for Unity of International Communist Movement**

- On the Proposal of Belgian Party of Labor
- On the Anti-Imperialist Convention Organized by Socialist Unity Centre of India

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Foreword

In this issue we are publishing some political assessments of “Bolshevik Partisan” on questions of struggle against imperialism and on the unity of the World Marxist-Leninist Movement.

On the question of unity of the International Communist Movement, important discussions and regroupments etc. are taking place at the present moment. We are trying to intervene in these discussions to the best of our ability.

Here we publish two examples of our position on this question – our critique of the Belgian Labor Party’s (PTB) conceptions on this subject, and those of the Socialist Unity Centre of India (SUCI). Some readers may ask why so many criticisms when the forces are internationally so weak anyway. We can only reply with Lenin: “Before we unite, and in order that we may unite, we must draw distinct lines of demarcation” and “Marxist-Leninist unity is possible only in struggle against the influence of opportunism”.

We ask our readers to note that this question makes up only a small subset of the political line of “Bolshevik Partisan”. Interested comrades who want to know more about our work and policy should get in touch with us.

Unfortunately, our English translation capacity is very modest. Therefore we want to apologize in advance for eventual errors or shortcomings in translation.

April 1996
The Publishers

Table of Contents

“Human Rights” – The Right of the Rulers	Page 1
Against the Barbarism of Environmental Destruction	6
The Fourth UN World Conference On Women – Peking 1995	11
Women’s Struggle Blasts Every Nation	15
Behing Fascism Stands Capital! Fight Against it International!	17
Let Us Organize the Independent Struggle	19
The Great Goal of the Unity of International Communist Movement Cannot Be Attained on the Basis of Compromising with Revisionism and Opportunism	23
The Struggle Against Imperialism Cannot Be Taken up Separate from the Struggle Against Opportunism	40
Speech in the Open Session of Anti-Imperialist Convention at Calcutta on 14.11.1995 on Behalf of BP(KK/T)	44
Speech of BP(NK/T) in the Delegate Session of Anti-Imperialist Convention in Calcutta on 16.11.1995	45
Proposal for a Joint May Day Declaration	49

“HUMAN RIGHTS” – THE RIGHT OF THE RULERS! THE OPPRESSED MUST WIN THEIR RIGHTS THEMSELVES BY STRUGGLE!

The UN Human Rights Conference Protects the Human Rights of the Rulers!

The UN Human Rights Commission Defines in the Interests of the New World Order of the UN, which People Have any Rights and which None!

The First Right of the People Is the Right to Fight for a World Without Exploitation and Oppression! The Right to Revolution!

In Vienna, Austria, a meeting is taking place of the Second United Nations Human Rights Conference from 14th to 25th June 1993. With a huge publicity hubbub, a monstrous media noise with approximately 5000 participants (watched over by the biggest array of police in Austrian history) the UN is trying once more to bolster up its international gendarme function morally.

With the transition of all former socialist states to the side of counter-revolution, the UN finally became an international controlling and ruling instrument which is supposed to secure and make safe the “new world order” of the imperialist great powers – France, Germany, USA, Japan, Russia etc. – worldwide. The main method of these ruling protectors became meanwhile the worldwide armed formation of the UNO, the UN troops. Whether in Cambodia, in Somalia, in Libya or Cyprus, the UNO is a legitimate organ of the imperialist military intervention of the imperialist great powers in the dependant and oppressed countries. The world police is in full action. Obviously, the “liberation” like interventions in former Yugoslavia are made according to the economic and political interests of the great powers. If UN troops do not directly intervene, the mandate of the UN Security Council is simply transferred to the “national troops” of the US imperialists and other countries as, for example, in the Gulf-War. There is no better example to unmask the cynicism of the “fundamental” principles of the UN than the “right to self-determination”, as in the suffering and struggle of the Palestinian people. The right to selfdetermination is valid for the state Kuwait, the loyal lackey of the US, German and English imperialists, which provides them oil, but not for the harassed Palestinian people. UN resolutions claiming the rights of the Palestinian people, which are accepted by virtue of the struggle of the Arabic people, are only scrap.

Task of the Human Rights Conference:

To Safeguard the Military Intervention Ideologically

As the example of former Yugoslavia shows, the question of human rights of the UNO and much of its ideology (not least the "Green/AlternativePacifist" ideologies and feminist ideologies) serves only the political calculation of its mark-outs and protection of spheres of influence. In the war in former Yugoslavia all fighting nationalist sides have in the first instance been (and are) militarily armed, then the favourite side – the Croats, muslim-Bosnian and Slavonian nationalists – get supported and stirred up against the other, "bad" side, the Serb fascists and nationalists, and vice versa. Because of these circumstances, an international tribunal – which is as well an aim of the conference – will punish human rights violations in former Yugoslavia. In the present conditions surely the Serb fascists will mainly be called to account, but the Croats and Bosnian reactionaries will not be pursued.

The example of Somalia: The result of tens of years of imperialist exploitation, exhaustion of the nature and natural resources of this state, the lasting corrupt lackey regimes of the actual imperialist supreme rulers, have ruined the neo-colonial state, have led to the starvation and death of thousands of people, to unnatural catastrophes and armed conflicts, to the devastation of the country. After such a development the main culprits – sitting in Washington, Moscow and Bonn – are exactly those forces which intervene militarily and want to establish, in fact directly, a colonial state power in Somalia.

And this intervention is also defended with the ideology dressed up as human rights. The now aspired moral and political anchorage of such "defense of individual and inalienable human rights" must be strongly combated. The tissue of lies of these justifications must be torn apart. It must be made clear that in the Iraq/ Kuwait war, the issue was the oil, the imperialist business; in Somalia the issue is the strategic access to the Red Sea with which the political world dominance can be militarily protected – the issue was no more or less. The imperialist states which carry out military interventions in the name of "human rights", which simply bomb away – in the name of human rights – unpleasant regimes (USA - Panama), the imperialist powers which want to impose their world order on every country, every person as the only true faith, have nothing to say at all in the question of human rights.

"Human Rights" of the Imperialists: Phrases, Behind which Powerful Imperialist Interests are Hidden!

In North Kurdistan the Turkish fascist state carries out an extermination campaign against the Kurdish nation. In the Turkish jails male and female revolutionaries and democrats are daily, hourly tortured and this is officially sanctioned and blessed. People opposing "ruling" politics are simply shot dead on the streets. Turkey is a member of NATO, UNO, and associated member of the EC – a stronghold in the Near East of the free Western world. Human rights violations in Turkey are indeed again and again stated and testi-

fied by the “liberal” bourgeois media, but ... that is all. This is the reality of imperialist relations. Political fighters against the oppression and torture and against the national extermination of the Kurdish people, are in Western countries like Austria, France pursued as “terrorists” etc. This is the PRACTICE of the UN human rights defenders! This reality of Turkey/North Kurdistan is a reality of all dependant and oppressed countries, whether in Latin America, Asia or Africa. There are killings and torture, the resistance against imperialist suppression, against patriarchal structures, against extermination of different ethnics, against extermination of the living foundations of people is choked in blood. If the respective “state rulers” are loyal vassals of the respective imperialist sovereignties, this is called the brave struggle of these states against “terrorists”. But if there are conflicts in the above mentioned states between different imperialist powers, which fight for influence, then the different cliques are played off against each other, respectively one clique is overthrown to bring the other to power. Then the “human rights” are always quoted as an implication to legitimate the imperialist intervention.

The Imperialist Defenders of Human Rights:

Forerunners of Fascism

Entirely in the pose of judges the imperialist states claim that they are the “watchmen of human rights”. With incredible ignorance and with unimaginable cynicism the German delegate, Mr Baum, brings this mentality to the point. In an interview given to the “Frankfurter Rundschau” on the occasion of the Human Rights World Conference in Vienna, he asserted indignantly “but they are the same states which want to turn the tables (the same states are China, Iran, Cuba, Malaysia – authors note) and want, whilst putting the subject of heterogeneous hostility to the front, to hit the most developed states. In Geneva (where the preparation for the conference took place – authors note) it was observed that they tried in this way to oppose the ‘moral’ and ‘de facto’ superiority of the West in the question of ‘human rights’, this was a conscious misinterpretation of the idea of ‘human rights’. In the FRG, human rights violations aren’t initiated by the state – the state opposes them.” (15.05.1993)

Of course, neither China nor Iran etc. – and including Turkey, we add – could masquerade as defenders of human rights, because they themselves have stepped all over them. But it is with the same lies, the same chauvinistic betrayals that the imperialist hegemonial desires of the West with ‘moral’ and ‘de facto’ superiority tries to sell themselves. Let us not forget the high security prison of Stammheim in Germany, the isolation torture, the murders in Stammheim, the security prisons and concentration camps in Belfast – the psychiatry wards in the former social-fascist states like the Soviet Union, the detention-prior-to-deportation prisons in Austria, the state Mafia in Italy, the racist justice in the USA, for example in Los Angeles ... the list goes on and on, and then the trend towards fascism in the imperialist states...

From Haider to Le Pen and including the “Republicans”, the fascist pest is on the march! Racism, anti-Semitism, fascist instigation has become fully acceptable in society. But, and this is the point, the fascist danger doesn’t originate in and of itself, but from the governing parties in the respective states. From the beginning the state itself operates with these political parties as the organ to execute fascist trends. And this is exactly what the representative of one of these states, Mr Baum, would like so gladly to sweep under the table: the “asylum debate” brought to discussion by the governing party in the FRG, the encouragement of Nazi gangs, instigation for pogroms by the state in the “West”, the ‘de facto’ abolition of the right to asylum, the modification of citizenship rights in France, the even more abrupt disadvantages for immigrants and furthermore the “vigilante justice” that Le Pen followers adhere to. That is the human rights politics in PRACTICE, in ACTION.

Nothing speaks further about the priority for the compliance with and the safeguarding of human rights in such countries as Austria, when we take a closer look at the extraordinary circumstances for this conference. The Austrian state must – for the sake of the “foreign guests” – grant entry in its human rights paradise – first of all to compose several definitions of the newly further intensified alien laws, bringing them “out of force”. What mockery, what irony! “Normally” a man or a woman receives a non-restricted visa to Austria under very limited conditions – there must be enough money, a return-ticket, invitation, insurance etc., of course all laid out onto the table before the stamp of approval is received. But despite the seemingly “made easy” entry, especially so because of this conference, there still remain in power enough limitations according to alien laws.

As, for example, groups of women and men participants belonging to non-governmental organisations are expected, those who have no official accreditation must first be “globally insured”, otherwise they can not participate in this “morally” and ‘de facto’ superior Austria.

The Real Struggle for Human Rights:

Struggle for the Revolution of the “Condemned of the Earth” Against the Imperialist Barbarians!

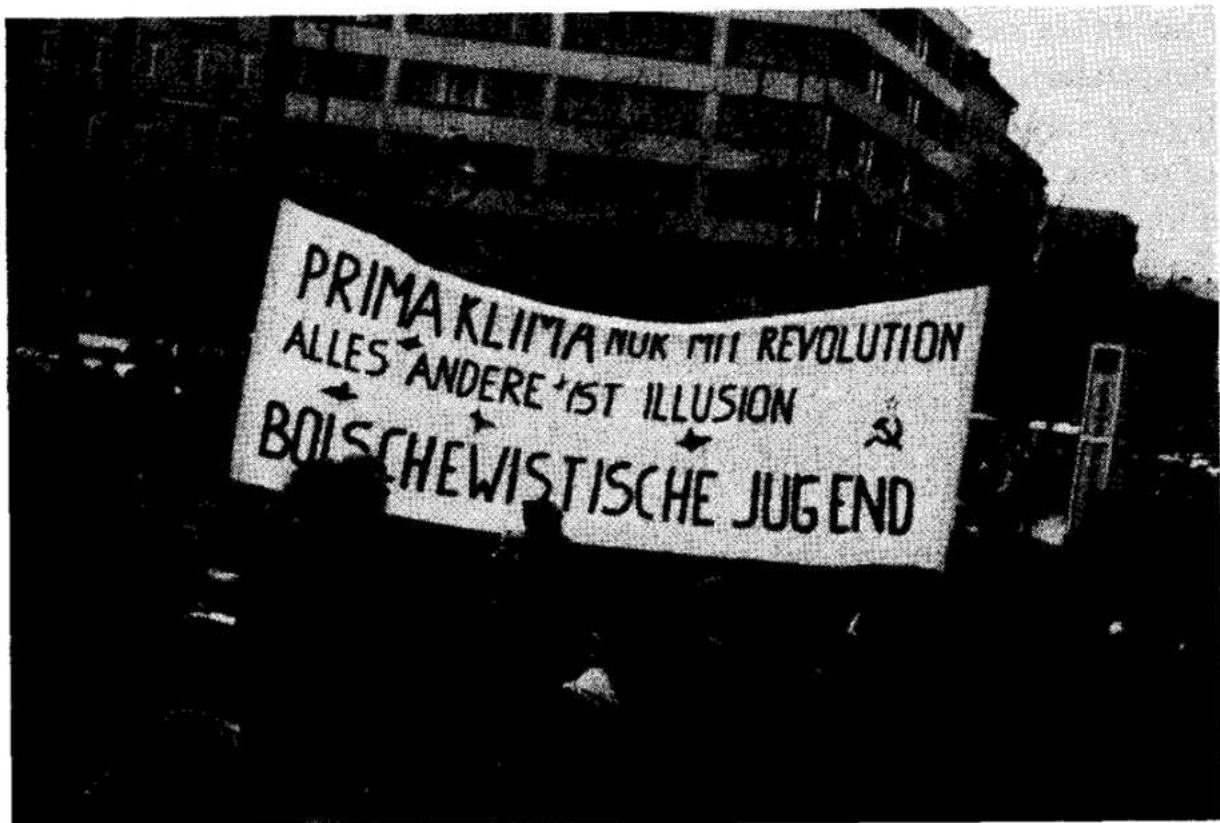
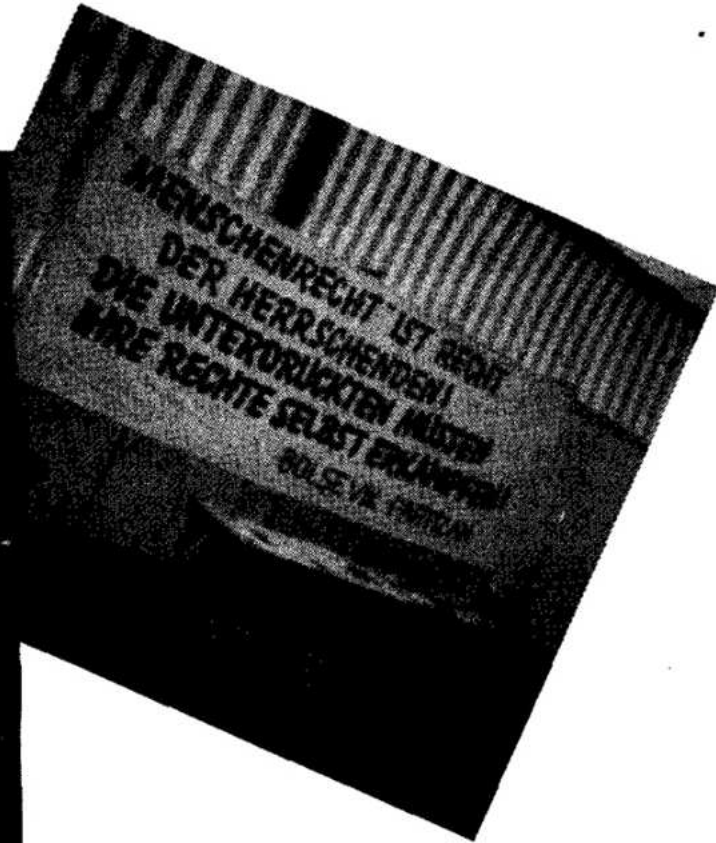
All these facts make it clear: Where capitalist and imperialist class rule exists, where national, patriarchal, racist and fascist oppression exists, there are no “undivided human rights”.

We struggle for the dignity of humanity, we struggle for human rights for every person. To make this a reality is exclusively and only possible in a free communist society, where the exploitation and oppression of humans by other humans is abolished. To achieve this, we must wage the struggle for the revolutionary reorganisation of the reigning system of suppression, we must direct the struggle against the world order of imperialism, we

must struggle for the revolution in every country, the struggle which will smash the old and sick states, and establish the socialist society.

Only through this struggle can we really struggle for the human rights for all the oppressed women, men and children, and only through our struggle will we bring torture and all forms of oppression to an end!

June 1993



AGAINST THE BARBARISM OF ENVIRONMENTAL DESTRUCTION FIGHT FOR THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION AND SOCIALISM!

After the Conference for Environment and Development in 1992 in Rio now the "first follow-up conference" is celebrated in Berlin/ FRG.

It is already clear: Like Rio, so in Berlin: a waste of time and effort.

The meaningless and above all not binding "Framework Convention on Climate Change" of Rio should – so it was planned – now get the "climate problem" with obligatory "timetables", fixed limits etc. under control in Berlin.

But wide of the mark! As in Rio, so is the summit in Berlin to be only a summit of prattle, letters of intent, assertions, a summit in the lowly spheres of imperialist politics.

Five Before 12 for the Climate: Rio, Berlin ...

For All the Summits, the Climate Does Not Get Any Better!

In a true tide of magazine articles, press statements, scientific expertises and books we are assured by all sides: It cannot go on the same way. Hardly a politician who still doubts that the greenhouse effect, the air-poisoning, the forest clears, the waste disposal, the CO₂ output are the causes of fundamental climate changes such as the increase in average temperature worldwide.

Hardly anybody dares still to contest that the consequences of climate change have already led to flood disasters as in Bangladesh, Italy etc., to hurricanes and whirlwinds as in California, to the desolation of wide rural areas.

The bourgeois scientists mutually exceed themselves in the depiction of thoroughly realistic horror scenarios for the future. Only as to the causes and the necessary changes, there go the opinions wide asunder. And that is no wonder!

The main cause of climate change is the world imperialist system, and nothing else. This is not production according to human needs in accordance with nature, but production for profit!

"Human needs" are aroused and served according to profit in imperialist countries. In dependent countries the basic necessities of food, housing etc. are hardly satisfied for the working persons.

One of the most blatant examples for this is the waste production in metropolitan states. For example millions of basic consumer items are stuck in most expensive packaging materials to move the consumers to purchase them – from shampoo to chocolate

box – and to cut out the competition — only to wander into the waste-basket – after being paid for –, and to poison the air and the soil through storage or incineration. Or, the means of mobility. They are produced and developed according to the interests of monopolies. Instead of giving preference to “environmentally appropriate” public means of mass transport, instead of widely limiting private vehicles, cars and trucks and airplanes are produced always more abundantly, road construction is financed and expanded by the state, CO2 outputs of cars get – in spite of and with catalytic converters – always higher. And since cars and trucks as well as busses are absolute “export hits” of imperialist states to dependent countries, their railroad networks are not expanded at all, or immediately shut down. These countries are “developed” correctly right from the start! Everything is oriented to the maximum profit of car companies from Japan, FRG, USA, Italy, France etc.

We could set forth with these examples arbitrarily, for example in the entire energy field. Here, the largest environmental polluters are the coal power plants and large-scale industry complexes etc.

The decisive thing is that the climate change has advanced so far, that even bourgeois politicians cannot ignore it anymore. Scientific data and the consequences of expected disasters force them to take at least some measures to take the edge off these consequences at least partially, and also to calm down the people.

In many countries of the world political and reformist movements have established themselves, struggling against the consequences of climate disaster, opposing environmental destruction and forcing the governments to take action. The mammoth conferences like Rio and Berlin serve just these purposes. But

The Main Culprits of the Climate Change Shift the Blame on Others – as Always!

Ninety percent of the CO2 emissions emerging during the process of energy production are blown into the air in metropolitan states, 10% in the remainder of the world. The Federal Republic of Germany is in Europe the country which produces the most CO2 emission, namely 31,3%. The USA contribute with 300000 tons of CFC gases to the destruction of the ozone layer (in comparison: India with four times so large a population produces 6000 tons). In Holland 688 kg of artificial fertilizers per acre and year are tipped out onto the soil, in Bangladesh 77 kg. The amount of industrial waste “exported” by the FRG to dependent countries was 552000 tons in 1990. We could continue with this list arbitrarily for all areas.

Now, instead of “radically” going against the causes of climate change in imperialist states, it is preferred to stage mock fights. A dispute is carried out about “reduction values”, “limits” etc. The CO2 emission, for example, should be reduced about 20% at the maximum by the year 2005, or rather should be led back to the level of 1990.

But de facto and fundamentally none of the problems should be tackled. They are pushed off onto the shoulders of dependent countries. Mr. Spranger, Federal Minister for Economic Cooperation, for example, throws in the discussion: "Poverty and underdevelopment are in wide parts of our earth causes of an over-exploitation of resources, having consequences on all countries and people", or: "As the problem of deforestation shows, poverty and high population pressure can be a cause of environmental damage" (Climate Newspaper #3). Fear is stoked before "take-off countries like China" which, Heaven forbid, will produce in some years so many cars and refrigerators that then altogether no more chance exists for the climate.

Therefore action is needed, but not above all and mainly by metropolitan states, but by dependent countries. And the slogan of "sustainable development", this "formula of environmental and peace policy of tomorrow" (Mr. Töpfer, ex-Federal Minister of Environment, Climate Newspaper #3) will have to do for it. This formula was the keyword of Rio resolution as well. It means nothing else but the imperialistic penetration and further dependence of undeveloped countries on metropolitan states. "We will further plunder their resources, in exchange for it however they should kindly hold the air clean through 'technology transfer', after all, we have polluted it enough already." Or just like the Holy Samaritans: "What wanders here into the garbage, is urgently needed in poorer countries" (Climate Newspaper #3).

It is always the same refrain.

In the Climate and Environmental Question, too, the Boundaries Lie Between above and below!

A further popular maneuver in the environment question in the metropolises is: "It is the fault of all of us".

We are made believe that, no matter whether you are a worker or a bourgeois, an employee or a manager, a peasant or a landowner, we all destroy the environment and the climate. We all drive cars, fall prey to consumption terror, no one wants to do without his/her daily shower etc.

But first of all, workers must not only inhale the polluted air in the street and at home. In factories, in production areas air-pollution limits are – paradoxically!? – often much higher than those for the man in the street. In the chemicals giants like BASF and Hoechst or in asbestos production, workers are poisoned consciously and knowingly, yes, as simple as that. And by whom?! By the companies, which are likewise responsible for the air pollution to a great extent. In the entire discussion, this air pollution, this health threat in production is usually simply swept under the table.

Naturally, the situation is much worse still in countries like India, North Kurdistan/ Turkey, Peru etc. The same industrial giants (Hoechst, BASF etc.) namely produce in these

countries under much worse conditions, i.e. without any health protection at all. The life expectancy of workers in these plants lie between 30 and 40 years.

Employees who return broken and groggy from work, torment themselves then still through traffic-jams – allegedly because they themselves want it so. Which scorn! Mostly, local transport means are so bad that long waiting periods and expensive tickets rob the commuters of every motivation to use public transportation facilities.

Alternatives to “normal” consumption, i.e. ecologically grown vegetables, stable, durable furniture, non-poisonous housing etc. are only to have with a great deal of money, and most employees do not have this sum of money in abundance even in imperialist countries. It is only enough to get by.

“We are all in the same boat”. You must be kidding! But this is a popular argument of the “Greens Movement”. Everyone must begin by himself, then will everything change allegedly. Well, yes, as green representatives with their corresponding diets and salaries, an “environmentally conscious” living and housing is surely affordable, whereby they do not surely dispense with their airplanes and official cars...

We Communists also think that everyone must begin by himself, but this means for us that the exploited and oppressed must see that they must take the struggle against environmental destruction in their own hands, that this is a part of the struggle against this system. We can change our individual conduct as much as we like, but it does not harm the established structures fundamentally. We are so far “co-responsible” for the climate disaster as we do not wage these struggles effectively and massively.

The Solution Models of the Reformists – Overtly or Covertly Chauvinistic!

Under the label of “S.O.S. Earth” an appeal is circulated to the climate summit by an initiative embracing all parties and countries (above all supported by the Greens) for a drive: “Ecological Marshall Plan”. (Already this drive name is “programmatic”. The Marshall Plan was nothing but the economic rearmament of German finance capital against the “danger of Communism” by American imperialism after 1945). We grasp one of the points out: “3. By the Ecological Marshall Plan: Population stabilization. If and so far as these states (Third World) develop and realize population stabilization plans, the international state community should grant them effective help in this field”. Well, here you are, please finance the program of the Chinese state also, which foresees compulsory sterilization after one child-birth, compulsory abortion in case of a handicapped fetus etc.!

This earth has enough food and room for all persons, if they are not exploited and oppressed – but this understanding is indeed alien to imperialist population strategists!

The problem is that the ones have too much and the others too little, and not that too many persons live on earth!

The programs of the NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) have essentially all the same kernel, even if they furiously denounce certain partial consequences of imperialist climate politics. They always look for a solution only as part of the existing system. De facto they have mutated to partially “innovative” “acknowledged” critics, but always only in mind with capital. They take – partly unintentionally – an outrider role in reinforcing international control mechanisms of the UNO, which are nothing but means of maintaining the “New World Order”.

German NGOs, for example, put the following demands to the Berlin climate summit: To lay down “climate protection as a requirement for each nation at home” and “orientation of loan disbursement by international development banks to goals of the climate convention”. Well, here you are, still another means of subjugation for dependent countries, for such a loan disbursement means nothing else. The metropolitan states want only to secure their markets for new technologies with it.

Earnestly a campaign is started during the climate summit in Berlin, the “Climate Tribunal”, to convene an “International Environmental Court of Law”. Here the guilty are also long since found. How could dependent countries compete with the standards of metropolitan states?! It would be best to debate the deployment of an environment army as well, which should “take drastic measures”!

The main problem of all these suggestions is that, so “well-meant” they may also be, they do not attack the boundaries of the system, its economic structures oriented on profit, which rest on the exploitation of man by man. They direct their appeals to the governments and politicians of these economic systems, who however only carry through their interests in the political plane, and do not set on the changing force of the popular masses.

The oppressed and the exploited must get on the move. They must recognize that they must tackle the climate and environment question as a question of survival of all enslaved people worldwide.

It must be the task of Communist propaganda and action to clarify the people in this sense, to agitate them, to make them conscious of the connections. It is essential to take the imperialist world system as our target. It is essential to take up the struggle for a fundamental change in the ruling systems.

We Communists from North Kurdistan/Turkey wage an embittered struggle precisely in these questions, too, against the ruling classes in our country who, like in all social areas, “march forward with giant steps” also by the destruction of life bases of humanity, nature and the environment. We fight here in the FRG against the imperialist environmental policy of German imperialism. This struggle must be an inseparable part of the struggle for proletarian socialist revolution in Germany.

Let's save the earth and blow the imperialist chain to pieces!

March 1995

Megashow of the Imperialists: The Fourth UN World Conference on Women — Peking 1995

We are fed up with the empty promises and the megashows!

Oppressed women of all countries: Our hope lies in rebellion, but liberation lies in revolution!

Ten years are gone since the III. UN World Conference on Women in Nairobi! Within these last ten years there were dozens of summits and conferences, dozens of international agreements were signed. Almost all of these conferences and summits conceded women and women's rights a particular place. "The Year of the Family", "Environment and Climate Summit", "World Population Conference"... The more the imperialists speak of the living conditions and rights of the oppressed and exploited women, the more furious momentum gains also the attacks of the patriarchal imperialist system on women! Unemployment, hunger, women's and infant mortality, mass rape and plight of women in reactionary and racist wars instigated for imperialistic interests, strengthening of the religious reaction which grants women besides prohibitions and multiple oppression no right to live, bloody suppression of the liberation movements through fascist dictatorships, most barbarous sexual torture on imprisoned freedom fighters in the dungeons, genocide! With international conferences and megashows, they try to gloss over this barbarism. And this barbarism is intrinsic to this imperialistic system itself. The IV. UN World Conference on Women in Peking has only one function: to conceal the imperialistic barbarism, to present and prettify the imperialistic system as pro-women!

We BOLSHEVIK WOMEN FROM TURKEY/NORTH KURDISTAN want to expose the barbarism of imperialism and reaction on the example of the reality of our country.

In the UN Conference the representatives of the fascist Turkish state will participate also, and will spread a heap of lies over what they have done for women. The delegation of the fascist Turkish State will once more trump up with the fact that we have a woman as premier. But the facts are stubborn.

The premiership of Mrs. Çiller has brought the women of different nationalities nothing at all. On the contrary, exactly in this period the attacks on the rights and lives of women intensified. The Turkish civil code rests in all areas on the privilege of the man and the inequality of the woman. Accordingly the man is the head of the family and the woman is responsible for housework. Patriarchy from inheritance and divorce laws to the law on the custody of children. And this since 70 years, since the establishment of the Turkish Republic. Mrs. Çiller has not even lifted a finger to alter these laws. Moreover, in line with the directives of the IMF and the World Bank she saddled off the burdens of the economic crisis altogether onto the working class, which has led to a further dete-

rioration in the living conditions of working women. Today women lose their jobs by the thousand because of the privatization policy of the government. The women in our country, in which unemployment is extremely high, see themselves now exposed to the danger of being thrown out also from the last sector in which they are employed. Withdrawals from union organizations proceeding hand in hand with the privatization policy lead to it, that there are hardly still any working women who have at least a minimal social protection. In the public sector, one of the branches in which most women work, it is not allowed to organize unions! The struggle of the State servants for the right to organize unions is suppressed violently.

The existence of the fascist Turkish state is maintained by terror and suppression, torture and murder.

Today a barbarous war is waged in North Kurdistan against the Kurdish nation. The national struggle of the Kurdish nation for independence is suffocated in blood and gunpowder. Villages are burned down and depopulated, encircled areas are cut off from food supply and exposed to hunger, Kurdish peasants and toilers – men and women alike – who support the struggle for independence, are all tortured cruelly, whether woman or man, child or elderly. This is the daily reality! In this war special units of the army of the fascist Turkish State rape arrested women guerilla fighters of the PKK and present the bare corpses of the fighters for deterrence in the media. Communist and revolutionary women fighting against the fascist Turkish State are subject to the same terror and murder regime. Assassination, disappearance during police custody, execution under torture — this is what expects the opponents of the fascist Turkish state!

We Bolshevik women from Turkey/North Kurdistan say:

There can be no liberation without razing the fascist Turkish state to the ground, which crushes the right of the Kurdish nation to set up its own state under its boots; exercises a policy of terror and oppression against the Arabic, Armenian, Georgian, Circassian, Laz... national minorities; robs the working women of all nationalities of their rights and freedoms!

Our hope is the revolutionary struggle, our flag that of Bolshevism!!!

**AGAINST THE BARBARISM OF PATRIARCHAL IMPERIALISM,
FOR THE LIBERATION OF WOMEN...**

**LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE FOR REVOLUTION AND SOCIALISM!
LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!**

The IV. UN World Conference on Women in Peking has also a bearing for the imperialists in utilizing women's organizations and women's movements of the most different shades for their interests. It has become a tradition that beside the State delegations also the Non-Governmental Organizations are included in the international conferences. For the imperialists this serves only the purpose of presenting and prettifying

themselves as “democratic”. That these organizations have a right to intervene on the action program to be adopted at the conference, is nothing but a fairy tale. Alike what kind of action program is adopted, it will be the action program of the imperialists. In so far, the question is not to engage hierin and add this or that just demand to this action program! The question is to grasp that, no matter which demands are adopted, which empty promises embellish the program, this action program remains by nature a contribution towards the upkeep of imperialism and patriarchy! For this reason we Bolshevik women from Turkey/North Kurdistan warn the women’s NGO’s not to become a playball for the imperialist yearnings of the United Nations. Particularly on the revolutionary women’s organizations of different countries should we like to call to unite our forces and jointly thwart and condemn this game. The main task of all Communist, revolutionary, democratic, progressive women’s organizations is to become the real voice of all the oppressed and exploited women of the whole world and expose this game of the imperialists and the world reaction in Peking.

Against imperialism, patriarchy, racism, fascism and all reaction!

Long live proletarian internationalism! Barbarism or socialism!

AGAINST THE DECEIT OF THE IMPERIALISTS WHO TALK OF DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS...

LET US COMBAT THEM WITH OUR INDEPENDENT REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS!

The imperialists want to kill several birds with one stone within the context of the IV. UN World Conference on Women in Peking. It is not by chance that Peking was chosen as the venue. The imperialists are out to drum their sophistry of “Communism is dead” into the masses over and over again! For this reason they are preparing themselves with all forces to “denounce” the cruelty of the “Communist” dictatorship in China, its “anti-democracy”, and thus run Communism down in the eyes of the oppressed and exploited of the whole world. In China not Communism is in power, but social-fascism. Fascism in the name of Communism! The social-fascist power in Peking has already executed dozens of persons and begun with crackdowns and purges in forefront of the Conference to show that it will not tolerate even the smallest demonstration and action during the conference to expose the suppression and the terror, which the Chinese people are subjected to. The denunciation of fascism ruling in China before the world public is a just struggle and rebellion against fascism, and a necessity of proletarian internationalism. But the only way for it is to organize independent revolutionary actions! It is not possible to fight against fascism, which is a product of imperialism, side by side with and in the wake of imperialism! With this consciousness we call on all revolutionary women and organizations to organize independent revolutionary actions in the spirit of proletarian internationalism!

Our solidarity is with the oppressed and exploited women masses in China!
 Our solidarity is with all the women fighters who wage a struggle for freedom and liberation in the world!
 Greetings to all women fighters who are taken prisoner in their just resistance struggle or who were martyred!
 Greetings to you, oppressed and exploited women of this world!
 Down with imperialism, patriarchy, racism and fascism!

20th August 1995

**BOLSHEVIK PARTY
 (NORTH KURDISTAN/TURKEY)
 Central Women's Commission**



WOMEN'S STRUGGLE BLASTS EVERY NATION ! REVOLUTION EVERYWHERE!

**Women's rights are human rights - not by mercy of the
UN, but through the struggle of all oppressed women
world-wide!**

Parallel to the World Conference on UN Human Rights from 14. to 25. June 1993 many activities are taking place under the name "Women's rights are human rights".

The prevailing UN resolutions and principles are the expression of the world-wide patriarchal ruling system.

Although torture is "recognized" as violation of human rights, rape during "normal times" or during war time is not recognized as a violation of human rights. Everywhere where (at least on paper) for example living conditions in human dignity etc. are demanded, special oppression mechanisms, special forms of exploitation, special methods of force against women are not considered.

Therefore many initiatives, signature campaigns, appeals, rallies and activities on a world-wide scale from different women's organisations which fight for the recognition of women's rights are recognised as human rights as well internationally from the UN are taking place. World-wide toiling women are aggravated by exploited and oppressed whether in the factory, on the fields, in the office, by reproduction work.

Their work is the worst paid and socially lowest valued.

At the same time they are oppressed racially and nationally. And not only that. Additionally there exists the sexist violence against women, penetrating all spheres of life and manifesting the patriarchal rule most brutally. Rape, sexual harassment and humiliation, this is the permanent component of the living reality of all oppressed women world-wide.

These oppressions in all their different manifestations are an inseparable component of imperialist control. As long as imperialism exists, imperialistic world domination exists, oppression will exist as well.

The world-wide struggle of oppressed women who declare war on this system, who are fighting for a different, a socialist society, will weed out the roots of the imperialist patriarchal system.

In this struggle it is also necessary to improve the living conditions of the oppressed women here and now to have better positions for struggle. To that extent a fight for democratic rights, e.g. for the recognition of the act of violence against women as a violation of human rights, is also important. But we women ought not have illusions. The

UN, this male-dominated ruling instrument of patriarchal regimes, will never turn fundamentally against the oppression and exploitation of women.

The women's struggle can smash the patriarchal oppressive structures only if it is waged world-wide as part of the class struggle of all oppressed and exploited.

Because of that let us take the fight for the rights of the oppressed and exploited women in our own hands.

We ourselves will win women's rights by fighting and burying the imperialistic patriarchal system!

WOMEN'S STRUGGLE BLASTS EVERY NATION, REVOLUTION EVERYWHERE!

June 1993



Bolshevik Partisan agitation on 8 March 1994 in Germany: We don't want to move the country, we want to turn the patriarchal State upside down!

BEHIND FASCISM STANDS CAPITAL! FIGHT AGAINST IT INTERNATIONAL!

In the face of growing fascist violence against foreigners in Europe and the electoral successes obtained by extreme right-wing parties such as REPs and DVU in Germany, Front National (Le Pen), National Front (England) etc., various youth organizations of Social-Democrats, the Greens, etc – “Youth Against Racism in Europe” – have called for an International Demonstration against Foreigner-Bashing and Fascism in Brussels. It is correct and necessary to call for a joint struggle of all working women and men and youth of all colours and nationalities against racism and growing fascism. Only the continuous joint struggle of all anti-fascists of all colours and nationalities can put a stop to the growing fascisation in Europe, to the disgusting chauvinism and racism showing itself most clearly in fascist attacks on refugees from former Eastern Block states, Asia and Africa and in growing anti-Semitism, in attacks on Jewish institutions and memorials.

In the Appeal put out by the “Youth Against Racism”, however, a wholly false distinction is made between “bourgeois parties” such as Christian Democrats who “even the way for fascists” and “themselves conduct downright racist campaigns”, and “Social-Democratic Parties” whose reply to the growth of fascism and racism were unsatisfactory up to now and which “in several cases” supported even discriminatory measures against migrants and refugees”. No, the social-democratic parties are not “workers’ organizations” making mobile only inconsequently against fascism, who “support discriminatory measures in several cases”, they themselves are parties of capital.

Fascism in Europe is not identical with parties such as Front National/Le Pen, DVU, REP etc. They are indeed the most radical part, but only a part of the fascist development. The brown plague originates from the imperialist states. Racism in the form of xenophobia, foreigner-phobia is State politics, is immanent in the system. All bourgeois parties, from the Christian Democrats over the Social-Democrats to the Greens, are parties fanning the flames of racism, pushing it forward.

It is not true, as it stands in the Appeal, that for example in Germany only the CDU spurs on the asylum discussion, and so conducts “itself downright racist campaigns”, on the contrary, this is conducted by all system inherent parties. Only its forms are different. While some insist on repealing the right to individual asylum as a whole, the “leftest” policy of the Greens, for example, consists of demanding immigration laws and quota regulations. But quota regulations themselves are racist, because they differentiate between human beings according to their skin-colour and origin, and their usability for capital.

On the one hand, in the fight against racism, openly fascist gangs, groups and parties must be combatted jointly. But in doing so, one should not forget that the fascisation is pursued in the main by the imperialist states themselves and their parties. Every anti-fascist must therefore oppose racist politics of all bourgeois parties of all shades, must reject all proposals aimed at protecting the wealth of Europe and differentiating between "profit bringing" and "useless" labour power, and should wage a struggle against closing down the borders of Europe – which will be opened in 1993 within the framework of European Community – against foreigners and refugees from without. For the want, hunger and oppression of human beings in the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America, Central America, the Middle East etc. is caused by the exploitation of imperialist states. Therefore, every refugee who comes to Europe must have the right to be recognized as such and be able to live under conditions fit for human beings. For that reason the central slogan of all anti-fascists today is: **OPEN THE BORDERS! LEAVE TO STAY FOR ALL!**

The struggle against fascism must be aimed against the imperialist states of Europe that plays an ever more powerful role as a world power in the contention for spheres of influence in Yugoslavia, former Eastern Block states, Africa etc under the leadership of German imperialism. In Kurdistan, Palestine, in all imperialist wars against the peoples, European weapons kill as well, and the interests of the European Community are represented.

The struggle against internal fascisation must at the same time be a struggle against the politics of rearmament and imperialist expansionism of the European states. Both of them go hand in glove.

Combat the imperialist aggression politics of the European Community under the leadership of German and French imperialism!

19. 10. 1992

LET US ORGANIZE THE INDEPENDENT STRUGGLE!

**That is the guarantee that we are not cheated at the
collective bargaining negotiations again in 1995!**

Colleagues!

At the beginning of this year we find ourselves as part of the collective bargaining campaign in dispute with the capitalists.

As we all know, at the end of 1994 the collective bargaining commissions of the Metal Workers Union put forward its pay demands for this year. The demands are limited to a 6% rise in wages, minimal increase in the trainee compensation, job security, basic conditions for facilitating a lead-in and reinstatement in a part-time job relationship, i.e., to concede all employees the possibility of a part-time job.

In contrast, the employers, i.e. the metal capitalists have started a new offensive. The capitalist monopolies made their demands public via the bourgeois media through their association speakers K. Murmann and H. P. Stihl. They want to reach a "zero-round" during this collective bargaining campaign. They want that we must work also at the weekends. In future, instead of daily and weekly working hours they want working hours on a yearly basis, so that we need to come to work only when it fits the Mr. capitalists. They want to make the amount of holiday pay dependent on the number of sick days, thus sick colleagues should be punished for their sickness; they want to remove a day of vacation or holiday for the financial relief of the employers, they want to reduce the labor costs even further in favour of profit maximization and therefore insert the foreign firms in the core areas of their organizations. The consequence of this is that the colleagues who were good for maximum profit until today are driven out of their jobs and replaced by subcontracted workers who must work for very low wages; the Metal employers want us to get even less Christmas money in future and through such and similar tactics they want to abolish the social achievements fought for by our pioneers. The representatives of capitalist bosses who sit in Parliament have also participated in these attacks. While the premier of Lower Saxony, Kurt Biedenkopf, sided with the compulsory taxation of wages and salaries of all employees in favor of employers to finance the care insurance, the SPD speakers represented the view that in case of recruitment of new employees, they should be classified into low-wage groups, so that they can reduce the employer expenditures and these can thus pay the care insurance. The Bavarian premier Stoiber, CSU, is on the contrary of the opinion that a day of vacation must be sacrificed for the care insurance.

To sum up: the representatives and henchmen of the capitalist system have started an offensive against us female and male workers.

In order to "prove" the 6% wages and salary rise claim of the union as unjustifiable, the capitalist-imperialist speakers point to the allegedly lower wage costs in other countries. As the following statistics prove, this assertion is wrong, for the productivity of German trusts is very high in relationship to the trusts of some other countries, for here our knowledge and our labour are exploited up to the extreme. They try to gloss over this fact.

Rise in wage costs and profits 1980 – 1991

	Profits	Wage costs
OECD countries	100	100
Germany	113	86

As our bitter experiences show and as we experience daily, our purchasing power has been sinking considerably especially in the last years. In order to cope with the rate of inflation in household goods, we must buckle our belts even tighter. Parallel to it, the social achievements of foregoing years are taken back for the benefit of the employers piece by piece, and with help of the argument of wanting to secure our jobs, companies like VW, Ford, Opel and Mercedes-Benz finalised company agreements so that at the same time our real wages are cut once more through reductions in working hours *without* full wage settlement. In the Mercedes-Benz factories, for example, through the Rastatt agreement this year, 1,25% of the impending wage increase will be removed altogether. In addition, 1% will be removed through the care insurance scheme finalised by the Parliament, the solidarity cut for the construction of the former GDR in the interests of imperialist trusts, therefore altogether 3%. As if all that were not enough, bourgeois economic experts optimistically reckon with an inflation rate of 3%. That is to say, we have a loss of 6% in purchasing power overall.

In contrast the capitalists in the metal industry have recorded a big profit for 1994. Under these circumstances the unrestrained attacks of the capitalist entrepreneurs show themselves unmistakably.

Therefore how can we understand the members of the work councils who are paid by the employers or the union leaders who claim to represent us but at the same time campaign only for a 6% wages and salary increase in face of all this? As it has been proved in the past repeatedly, these so-called representatives of workers will not even fight for 6% during their negotiations with the employers. As in the past, they will betray us behind closed doors and sell us out for only a 3-4% rise.

Why do they do that?

To "secure our jobs"! To raise the competitiveness of German monopolies against monopolies of other states! To secure "location Germany"; therefore for nationalistic interests!

At the expense of whom?

At our expense, so that we work harder and are exploited even more, and more of our colleagues are kicked out of the factories.

To whose advantage?

The union leaders and the capitalistic entrepreneurs have a common goal: The conservation of this exploitative system, i.e. the wage and competition system. Yes, to the advantage of a handful of exploiters, to make the capitalist class even richer, to participate even more in the exploitation of other countries in the interests of the German imperialist state and trusts. With the profits of this imperialist exploitation, the union bureaucrats and representatives elected by us, who are alienated from us and have become worker aristocrats, are paid off for their above mentioned services.

What is to be done?

Whilst we should work actively within the union, on the other hand, we, must unite for our common interests although we are relatively weak today. The first serious step is to get organized in *strike and struggle committees*. In these committees all workers can get organised except the fascists. In our meetings inside and outside the factories, colleagues who are able to represent our interests in the best way will be elected, or, should the need arise, dismissed. These committees or we as individuals will put forward the following realistic demands at the collective bargaining negotiations:

- * At least a 6% wage increase
- * For the lower wage groups a minimum increase of at least 350.-DM
- * Full costs of the qualification-training of colleagues will be covered by the capitalists; better qualification = higher wages
- * Sufficient education compensation during apprenticeship to be able to live independently.
- * 30 hours a week, Monday to Friday, without pay cuts
- * Against productivity increase, group work, "zero error goal" (which brings more profit for the capitalists only), job rationalisation, and for new jobs and a new organisation of the work place in order to create humane conditions
- * For creation of new jobs at the expense of the capitalists instead of the rationalised.

Does all of this suffice?

NO!

As long as the capitalist wage and competition system exists, neither unemployment nor the intolerable pressure to produce more will completely be abolished and humane working conditions created. As long as this capitalist system of exploitation exists, where there are 7 million unemployed today, talk of 'generating jobs for millions' is nothing but a dissemination of illusions. We do not trust those who try to eliminate unemployment under this system with reformist demands.

We will fight with concentrated forces against these imperialist rulers for more economic and democratic rights.

We will combine the struggle for the destruction of the wage and competition system with the struggle for the establishment of a socialist system, in which there is no exploitation of a man by man. When worker power is established, following words will become a reality: "Work for all able bodied men and women under humane working conditions".

In order to give this struggle a correct orientation, we must begin today to build a Bolshevik Party on the basis of workers committees in factories.

Organize strike and struggle committees in each factory!

Long live the strong unity of the working class!

Down with the wage and competition system!

Long live the struggle for socialist revolution!

Let us organize the Bolshevik Party, the vanguard of the socialist revolution!

Bolshevik Workers

January 1995



The Great Goal of the Unity of International Communist Movement Can not Be Attained on the Basis of Compromising with Revisionism and Opportunism!

Around May Day last year, an international conference was organized in Brussels, Belgium, under the auspices of the Belgian Party of Labour. This conference was conceived by its organizers as a conference towards bringing about the unification of the International Communist Movement.

We took part at this conference with a delegation and informed our readers and brought an assessment about this conference in Bolševik Partizan Nr 97 in our article "The Great Goal of the Unity of International Communist Movement Can not Be Attained on the Basis of Compromising with Revisionism and Opportunism!" In the same article, we furthermore brought the "Proposition for the Unity of the International Communist Movement" presented by the Belgian Party of Labour to this conference and gave our evaluation of it.

Now, a new conference is being organized around May 1st in Belgium. It will be convened under the main theme of "Anti-Imperialist Struggle in the New World Order". Four topics are set.

- 1. Anti-imperialist struggle in the Third World and legal and parliamentary struggle*
- 2. Anti-imperialist struggle in the Third World, armed struggle and political mass work*
- 3. World strategy of the main centers of imperialism and reaction*
- 4. Centers of armed conflicts in the world at the present moment.*

On each item of the agenda, invited representatives of a series of self-baptised communist groups from various countries will present their views on the topic. In a short discussion afterwards, other participants will be able to air their views.

The basic distinction of this conference from the preceding consists in discussing some questions of the anti-imperialist unity, which has a broader scope than the unity of the International Marxist-Leninist Movement. In a sense, this is a step backwards from the goal presented earlier. On the other hand, knowing that a solid anti-imperialist unity can be established and maintained only on the basis of the unity of Marxist-Leninists, this meeting can and will at the best be nothing but a forum for the participants to get to know each other. Even this much is, without a doubt, beneficial. Naturally, only when this real state of affairs is established as such. It would be wrong when, instead of doing

this, it is expected that this meeting will establish a center for the unification of the anti-imperialist movement.

We will participate in this meeting with a delegation, present our views and wage a struggle in their favor.

The main theses we will propound in the seminar "Anti-Imperialist Struggle" are the following:

- * Lenin's analysis and statements on imperialism and anti-imperialist struggle are valid and relevant today as well. The essence of imperialism has not changed at all.*
- * From the standpoint of anti-imperialist struggle, all hues of modern revisionist theories and the counter-revolutionary "Theory of Three Worlds" with all their roots and implications must be wholly and totally rejected.*
- * Anti-imperialist struggle must oppose the entire imperialist system as a whole, and not only any one particular imperialist power.*
- * Communists wage the anti-imperialist struggle as a component part of the struggle for proletarian revolution and in subordination to it.*
- * In anti-imperialist struggle, particularly in backward countries, it is possible to go into short-term alliances with a particular section of the bourgeoisie. However, one should not forget, and let it be forgotten, that even during these alliances, the bourgeoisie is our enemy.*

As regards our basic views on each item of the agenda, here they are in concise form:

Apropos item 1:

In the era of imperialism, legal and parliamentary struggle in all countries can not be the main domain and form of struggle in the pre-revolutionary period. Illegal forms of struggle and extra-parliamentary mass struggle must always be the main pillar of a genuine anti-imperialist struggle. Undoubtedly, one must always make maximum use of the legal possibilities and possibilities of parliamentary struggle, but should not sink into the quagmire of legalism and parliamentarism in the name of making use of these possibilities. And this is the main danger today.

Apropos item 2:

Armed struggle and political work among the masses are not the alternatives, but complementaries of each other when they are tackled correctly. Anti-imperialist struggle can be successful only when it is based on the revolutionary violence of the masses, only when they are won over to the struggle, to the war for anti-imperialist goals. In this context, we are in disfavor of characterizing the armed actions conducted by the vanguard to meet its own needs or for the purpose of self-defense, or armed actions to sweep away the obstacles preventing the vanguard or the revolution from developing, as "People's War". In our opinion, the main characteristic feature of People's Warfare is that

really the people itself, the toiling masses themselves wage – under the leadership of the party, naturally – the armed struggle. The vanguard warfare waged in the name of the people, but without the real participation and support of the broad popular masses, can, in some cases, turn into a people's war in the long run – it is, nevertheless, not People's Warfare, but war of the vanguard with the state.

Apropos item 3:

*One of the most important characteristics of imperialism is that, as has always been, the world is divided up among **imperialist great powers**. Today the USA, Japan, Germany, England, France, and Russia are the leading imperialist great powers. Canada and Italy are the followers-up. China has the potential for becoming an imperialist great power, and is pursuing this end. Imperialist great powers are building among themselves provisional alliances both against each other as well as against the peoples. And in this context the European Community with Germany at the head, Japanese imperialism, US imperialism as well as Russian imperialism, although it has become considerably weak, form the main centers of imperialism.*

*The objective of any and every one of them is **world hegemony**.*

Apropos item 4:

Of the ongoing armed struggles with broad popular participation in the world today, none is under proletarian leadership. And for this reason, these struggles are in the last analysis struggles within the system boundaries. Nevertheless, a certain section of these struggles, those under petty-bourgeois and national bourgeois leadership, are at present not under the direct control of any particular imperialist power. And they have a just character which should be supported.

Such are our views on the items of the conference agenda.

*Apart from this, there is the following problem: The draft "Proposition for the Unity of the International Communist Movement" presented by the PTB was edited after the conference in last year by a commission set up at the conference. In our article in *Bolševik Partizan* Nr 97, we had criticized not the finalized version, but the draft of the PTB, and had said that it could not be reformed and could not possibly be the draft programme for the unity of the International Communist Movement. Now we have in our hands the final version of this draft, somewhat amended and reformed. In this article we also want to say something about the amendments of this reformed draft, and want to do it in the following manner: We will take our criticism of the draft that we brought last year as our fundament, and, at the end of each clause, bring our criticisms on the amendments, and set them in italics to facilitate easy distinguishment.*

On the “Proposition for the Unity of the International Communist Movement” of the Belgian Party of Labour (PTB), Brussels, May 3rd, 1994

Between May 2nd to 4th this year, an international meeting was held in Brussels, attended by representatives of over 50 parties and groups from different countries.

All the parties and groups participating in the meeting had only one common feature: They all spoke in the name of Socialism, Marxism. The spectrum ran from overtly revisionist parties and groups to centrists; and from there to defenders of “Mao Zedong Thought” of all hues, to representatives of the line of Enver Hoxha.

The organizer of this “success”, of having brought all these motley groups together, was the group called the Belgian Party of Labour. The real purpose of this meeting, passed off as seminar, from the point of view of its organizers, was to discuss a draft document worked out for the “Unity of the World Communist Movement”, dated 3 May 1994.

A delegation of our Party also took part in this meeting to propagate our views and exchange information. As this “proposition” reached us very late, we were unable to present a written statement in direct relation to this proposition at the meeting. On the other hand, since we could not establish the real nature of the meeting in time, our delegation was not sufficiently prepared for it. Our translation capacity was also very limited. Against all these odds, a considerably good portion of work was done at the meeting. We distributed our document, “Who are We?”, in English translation to the participating parties and groups, which put forward our views in regard to what we think about the unity of the World Communist Movement as well.

Moreover, in two contributions to the meeting, our representatives tried to present to the meeting that this was an opportunist proposal, that a unity on this basis could possibly be the unity of the “World Communist Movement”. This drew the reaction of the organizers especially. The organizers reacted strongly especially against our evaluation that we do not hold Cuba and North Korea for socialist and revolutionary.

Interestingly enough, in the report about this conference in the opportunist review “Atılım” (“Thrust”), it is presented as if the target of this reaction were MLKP/K, also participating in the meeting. Probably, this is the result of their concern for passing themselves off as the “most combative”, “principled” etc., of those who exhibited a posture of compromising with revisionism and centrism, of those who did not wage a real struggle at the meeting.

The authors and propagators of this stand must have thought, a small portion of “lies” would not harm when it serves to present themselves to their supporters as very “principled” and “combative”. But as the saying goes, a lie has only a short life.

The discussions at the meeting proved to be a recapitulation of the views held by the motley groups representing entirely different views. At the meeting a number of groups

brought various criticisms to the proposal which had an eclectic-opportunist character. A section of these criticisms not relating to the essence of the proposal were accepted by its initiators. Even then, the document was signed by only a very small minority of the participant organizations.

Below we reproduce the "proposition" of the PTB and bring our stand on it.

"Proposition for the Unity of the International Communist Movement"

Introduction.

1. The Gorbachev-Yeltsine counter-revolution has brought the complete restoration of capitalism in the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe and in the Soviet-Union. This is a victory of imperialism and reaction, an important setback for all communist and progressive forces all over the world.
2. This counter-revolution has exacerbated all fundamental contradictions in the world: the contradiction between the socialist countries and imperialism, the contradiction between the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin-America and imperialism, the contradictions between the imperialist powers and the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The forces of reaction, racism, fascism and war have started a world wide offensive.
3. In this situation, there is an urgent need for communist parties and organisations who stay to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism to unite, to draw lesson of the counter-revolutionary processes that have destroyed socialism in the Soviet-Union, to exchange their experiences and analysis and co-ordinate their work.

The former divisions between Marxist-Leninist parties can be overcome.

1. Since 1956, the international communist movement has been divided and split, mainly due to the revisionist line adopted by Khrushchev, but also under the influence of ultra-left attitudes.
2. Today, as a result of the restoration of capitalism under Gorbachev, the "pro-Soviet" tendency, which once constituted the majority, has atomised into innumerable tendencies. In the sixties, a "pro-Chinese" tendency had emerged which split into various tendencies after Mao's death. There has been a "pro-Albanian" tendency, which has also split after the collapse of socialism in Albania, and a "pro-Cuban" tendency, mainly in Latin America. Some parties, finally, maintained an "independent" position vis-a-vis the tendencies mentioned.
3. Whatever opinion one may have about the correctness or necessity of these splits at a certain point in history, today, the possibility exists to overcome these divisions and to unite Marxist-Leninist parties, traditionally divided along pro-Soviet, pro-Chinese, pro-Albanian, pro-Cuban or independent lines.
4. All Parties that are loyal to Marxism-Leninism are aware that revisionism has weakened and divided the international communist movement and that it has finally degenerated into open treason.
5. After the complete restoration of capitalism in the Soviet-Union, all the communists can agree that revisionism is the most dangerous ideological enemy of Marxism-Leninism. Life has proven that revisionism represents the bourgeoisie within the communist movement.
6. The various divisions and splits that have occurred over the last 35 years have seriously weakened the entire international communist movement.
7. In the past, there have been regroupings of parties and organisations based on a specific political and ideological orientation. Within the various groupings, some parties have succeeded in striking deep roots among the masses, have acquired a revolutionary experience of their own, and have succeeded in linking Marxism-Leninism with the reality of their country. Within each of these groupings, some organisations have deviated to Left or Right opportunism, roamed about without a grip on the struggle, and disappeared.
8. In the actual situation, all parties that stay to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism feel the need to bypass the former divisions and unite.
9. Communists must unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Unity based on Marxism-Leninism must be strengthened by fighting right and left opportunism. We have to accept that disagree-

ments, some of them very serious, may exist for a long time, to accept criticism and counter criticism, and to preserve unity. Upholding both Marxism-Leninism and unity are two aspects of a consistent revolutionary policy.

Fight revisionism and defend Marxism-Leninism

1. Since its establishment in 1919, the International Communist Movement has stirred history and changed the outlook of the world. The Second Congress of the Communist International held in July 1920 adopted a constitution, requirements for admission, the Manifesto and other essential resolutions which characterised the international communist movement vis-a-vis Social Democracy. Until 1956, it maintained its revolutionary orientation, its unity and its strength and its influence in the world continued to increase.

2. In order to reappear on the world scene as a significant current, the International Communist Movement must claim this common history.

3. Lenin has continued the revolutionary work of Marx and Engels and has developed it under the new conditions of imperialism. He led down the principals of communist Party building and he elaborated the strategy and the tactics of the socialist revolution and put them into practice. He denounced social-democracy as the ideology of the bourgeoisie and of imperialism inside the working class movement. He formulated the guiding lines for socialist construction under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

4. Stalin has applied the Leninist principals and under his leadership, the Bolshevik Party transformed a backward and ruined economy in an industrialised socialist country. The collectivisation and modernisation of soviet agriculture, the socialist industrialisation, the cultural revolution, the building of strong defence forces with the Red Army as its core, the victory in the patriotic anti-fascist war, the reconstruction of the country and the adoption of a consistent foreign policy defending world peace and supporting the anti-colonial and anti-neo-colonial struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America are achievements of historical and world wide significance.

5. Stalin maintained that class struggle continues under socialism. He stressed that the old feudal and bourgeois forces didn't cease their fight for restoration, and that the opportunists within the Party, the Trotskyites, the Bukharinists, the bourgeois nationalists and the bureaucratic elements helped the anti socialist classes and strata to regroup their forces.

6. Khrushchev has imposed a revisionist line to the Soviet-Party and to the International Communist Movement. This line was formulated in his report to the XXth Congress, his secret report on Stalin, and his report to the XXIIInd Congress.

7. In 1956 Khrushchev has launched an attack on Stalin's internal and foreign policy in order to change the fundamental ideological and political line of the Party. Subsequent, a gradual degeneration of the whole political and economic system has taken place.

8. Brezhnev has never questioned the revisionist programme of the XXth and XXIIInd Congress. He even "developed" the theses on "the state and the Party of the whole people", and declared that the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union was no longer possible. He destroyed all revolutionary vigilance and put an end to the class struggle against bureaucratism, technocratism, careerism and corruption.

9. It was under Brezhnev's rule that a new bourgeoisie was able to consolidate itself into a class which was able to dominate the political scene and to impose its open dictatorship under Gorbachev.

10. In the whole world, the bourgeoisie celebrates the defeat of socialism. In fact, we have witnessed the defeat of revisionism initiated 35 years ago by Khrushchev. This revisionism has ended in a complete economic failure, in capitulation for imperialism, in capitalist restoration, in a social catastrophe and in reactionary civil war.

11. Khrushchev started his destructive work by alleging that he criticised Stalin's errors with the aim of restoring Leninism in its original purity. Gorbachev made the same demagogic promises to disorient the leftist forces. But the criticism of "Stalinism" was only a trick to camouflage the attacks on all Marxist-Leninist principles. The day Gorbachev had completely destroyed "Stalinism", he declared his open hostility to Leninism and his adherence to social democracy.

12. The discussion about the experience of the CPSU under Stalin must be reopened in the International Communist Movement. Anti-Stalinism has been the Trojan horse for anti-communism, introduced in the ranks of the International Communist Movement.

13. For a certain period of time, disagreements about the assessment of the work of comrade Stalin will remain. These discussion should be tackled in a scientific manner and based on class positions.

14. By hindsight we may say that, after the XXth Congress of the CPSU, the majority of communist parties dearly underestimated Khrushchev revisionism.

15. In the sixties, it was Mao Zedong who had best grasped the danger of revisionism. Enver Hoxha, Ho Chi-Minh, Kim Il Sung and Che Guevara also made important contributions to the fight against revisionism.

16. In the light of the degeneration of the Soviet Union there is a need to re-evaluate the work of comrade Mao

Zedong. By leading the national-democratic revolution and its transformation into the socialist revolution in a large Third World country, he has made a contribution of world-wide significance. Mao Zedong resisted Khrushchev and later on Brezhnev's revisionism. He made the first attempt in history to draw the masses into the fight against degenerative tendencies within the Party.

17. Different opinions in the International Communist Movement on the merits of Mao Zedong will remain for a certain time; they should be treated in an impartial way, searching for the truth on the basis of the facts.

18. The ideological struggle against revisionism is a complex and prolonged task. Revisionism, that has destroyed so many parties, will not disappear spontaneously. Tito's revisionism had been criticised by the international communist movement as early as 1948. Khrushchev, in developing his opportunist course, did in fact copy many revisionist theses of Titism. If the revisionist ideas and theses are not analysed and criticised in depth, they continue to exist and the liquidationist current can strike again and claim new victims. The relationship between the lines of Khrushchev and Brezhnev and the policies of Gorbachev, must be analysed in depth, as well as the development of the degenerative process from its origins till its outcome.

Fight splitism and maintain unity.

1. Khrushchev started to destroy the organisational unity of the International Communist Movement by expelling the parties who opposed his revisionism.

2. But subsequent sectarianism and ultra-Leftism resulted in innumerable unjustifiable splits. Real differences in analysis and judgement led to antagonism and rupture. There have been important ideological and political conflicts about Czechoslovakia in 1968, Cambodia in 1979, Afghanistan in 1980, the elimination of the Gang of Four in 1976, the Three Worlds Theory in 1977, the line of Deng Xiaoping in the early 1980s, and so on.

3. All these conflicts were important. Fundamental disagreements have to be clarified, but it requires time and serious materialist analysis and debates. Each party should have studied the different colliding standpoints in earnest, formulate its own standpoint while preserving the unity of the movement.

4. Every party applies the Marxist-Leninist principles to the present reality according to its own concept. Nobody can demand concessions from another party on points the latter considers essential. Every party defines its policy in complete independence. But this doesn't contradict the duty to maintain the unity of the international communist movement, for this unity is also an important question of principle.

5. Ample documentation exists on the practice of the CIA and other secret services to exploit the disagreements between communist parties. The enemy is aware of the importance of unity among communists and he often supports all centrifugal tendencies, sponsoring as well Right revisionism as Leftist positions, in order to accelerate divisions and splits.

6. By safeguarding the movement's unity, each Party will be able to learn more and faster. We can learn not only from the parties with which we generally agree, but also from those who following, in our opinion, a Left or Right opportunist course.

7. First of all, our judgement can be wrong.

Secondly, experience has taught that Parties can draw lessons from certain aspects of the mass work, the experiences, the theoretical work, and so on of Parties with whom they disagree.

Thirdly, fundamental disagreements must not preclude certain forms of co-operation and common struggle as regards racism, trade union rights, anti-imperialist struggle, etc.

Fourthly, we must take possible developments into account. Certain parties which we consider to be right or left opportunist may correct themselves, or some factions may develop positively.

Finally, the parties we consider opportunist may degenerate completely, and openly defect to the bourgeoisie. Having maintaining relations with such them can teach us many useful lessons by negative example.

Organisational proposals

1. We propose to organise a realistic unitary initiative, adapted to the present reality and needs, to bring together, once a year or every two years, all parties loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

A realistic unitary initiative can guarantee efficiency and optimum results with a rational investment of time and higher cadres.

The majority of communist parties, notably in the Third World, don't have the financial resources nor the cadres available to travel abroad several times a year in order to meet with the different components of the International Communist Movement.

The resources of each of our organisations are limited. None of us can thoroughly study all essential subjects. We can have only a limited number of valuable practical experiences. Each of us in order to progress in a faster way, must make the effort to assimilate the best theoretical works and the best practical experiences of the others. This

also pleads for a unitary initiative.

2. Communist parties from the different tendencies within the International Communist Movement should agree on a common concept. In order to elaborate this common concept as well as the modalities for its application, an organising Bureau should be set up, which, per continent or subcontinent, comprises a significant representation of the three or four ML existing currents.

3. In the actual situation, it is not possible to build an new international organisation on the model of the Third International with a leading body and a common discipline for all members. The basic aim of the unitary communist initiative is to stimulate exchanges and co-operation.

4. For the moment, the most suitable organisational form for the unitary initiative is the seminars. Its first purpose is the exchange of information's, documents and analyses. Through the presentation of political and theoretical analyses and reports of the practical experiences, the different parties learn to know each other and to share their knowledge.

Secondly, debates on crucial issues of common interest should be organised.

Thirdly, co-ordination of actions and activities can be organised on a voluntary base.

Resolutions will eventually be drafted in a spirit of consensus and they can be adopted or rejected on an individual base. Proposals for resolutions should be submitted before the seminar starts and after an open discussion, a draft-committee shall write the resolutions to be submitted.

5. We propose that the Organising Bureau prepares an international conference of the Communist Movement for the year 1997, the 80th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. During the tree years to come, serious and systematic preparations should be undertaken.

6. This Proposition for the Unity of the ICM will be the base for discussions and consultations in the year to come. All parties will be asked to subscribe this document or to submit written amendments. A final draft of this Proposition will be discussed and adopted at the seminar to be held on 2-4 May 1995 in Brussels.

7. The Conference of 1997 should at least have the following points on its agenda.

The history of the Communist Party of the Soviet-Union under Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Gorbachev, the development of revisionism and the final collapse.

The New World Order, its nature and contradictions and the new conditions of peoples struggles against imperialism.

Lenin and the October Revolution.

8. Different seminars will be organised in the years to come on this issues, as a preparation for the Conference. The seminar of May 2-4, 1995 in Brussels will concentrate on the first issue; The history of the Communist Party of the Soviet-Union and the development of revisionism.

9. Studies by different parties on this tree issues will be printed in book-form. This will enhance the preparations and discussions for the international Conference.

Brussels, May 3, 1994

The term "World Communist Movement" is used throughout the proposal as a movement presumed to consist of all those who call themselves socialists, communists etc., of all the forces that define themselves as "communists" etc.

This wrong notion characterizes the whole proposal. In actual fact, this is the notion of turning the World Communist Movement into a dervish lodge open to all and sundry. By way of wiping off all ideological differences, efforts are undertaken to bring about a "unity". The unity of "World Communist Movement" can not be reached on the basis of such an understanding. Nothing would come of it other than, at most, bringing together groups whose common ground lies but in their names, giving them a chance to recapitulate their well-known positions at such meetings.

On the basis of such an understanding, not only would the lines of demarcation between Marxists-Leninists and some of the opportunists who still stand on revolutionary posi-

tions be obscured, but also the coarsest lines of demarcation between revolution and counter-revolution.

For this basic difference in approach, we hold the "Proposition for the Unity of the International Communist Movement" for totally unsuitable in regard to its professed aim. Our counter-proposal is as follows:

- * It is one of the tasks facing us today to re-create the World Communist Movement.
- * The first step towards solving this task is to create the common platform of the World Communist Movement.
- * Our proposal for the common platform of the World Communist Movement is presented in the "Criteria of Marxism-Leninism in the Present-Day Situation", being tantamount to upholding the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism and the dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian revolution. We call on all forces that put themselves the task of the unity of World Communist Movement seriously to discuss and air their views on this document.

On the basis of the altered and finalized version of the proposal, we do not have much to add to what we have already said on this subject. In the "altered" version of the proposal, too, the notion of comprehending all and sundry who call themselves Marxist-Leninists as the World Communist Movement is being retained. What differs is that the goal of unity is drawn back a little and the goal of organizing a discussion is pushed a little further. And this makes no difference in the essence of the matter. In the end, all parties, of whom we are assured by the proposal that they "stay to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism", from the modern revisionists to the followers of the Party of Labor of Albania (PLA), from the followers of the PLA to the defenders of Mao Zedong Thought, whom the former consider to be a peasant revolutionary, and from the defenders of Mao Zedong Thought to the centrists – they are all going to discuss with the aim of bringing about the unity of the International Communist Movement. And in this discussion, they are going to see and grasp what's right and what's wrong; and learn from mistakes by negative example etc. This is a muddle, this is a case of watering down the clear lines of demarcation, this is an opportunist notion of unity.

Below, we want to bring our concrete criticisms on individual passages and aspects of the "proposition" of the PTB. In this context, it must be kept in mind that we are not going to go into every individual error in the proposal, but only into those which we consider important.

Apropos "Introduction"

It is utterly wrong to substantiate the necessity for the unity of the World Communist Movement with the present-day situation, with the "Gorbachov-Yeltsin counter-revolution", with the "victory of imperialism" and the "defeat of communist and progressive forces" etc. The unity of the World Communist Movement is the most natural col-

lateral of the idea of World Communist Revolution, a necessity of proletarian internationalism.

Moreover, this section is at least open to misunderstanding when it speaks of “Gorbachov-Yeltsin” “counter-revolution”. The essence of the matter is that Gorbachov and Yeltsin have continued the counter-revolution begun by their revisionist predecessors and brought it to its logical conclusion. In this sense, one cannot at all speak of a “Gorbachov-Yeltsin counter-revolution”.

At this point, we must say that the old formulation of “Gorbachov-Yeltsin counter-revolution” has been dropped in the finalized version and replaced by “the counter-revolutionary policy of Gorbachov and Yeltsin”. This is a real improvement on the draft.

Where it is said that “this counter-revolution has exacerbated all fundamental contradictions in the world”, “the contradiction between the socialist countries and imperialism” is also stated. Today there is no such concrete contradiction, because there is no socialist country in the world.

The first and foremost fundamental feature of a “socialist country” is the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the political field. Today there isn’t a dictatorship of the proletariat (or a dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, for that matter) in the Democratic Republic of Korea, in Vietnam, in the People’s Republic of China or in Cuba, all of which are called “socialist” by the imperialist bourgeoisie as well. These countries are not under full control of imperialism, but they are not socialist, either.

The most important passage in this section is for us the declaration of goals. The professed goal of the “Proposition” is to unite the “communist parties and organizations who stay to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism”. The line of demarcation lies here precisely in coming to an agreement on what is meant by the minimum demands and necessities of upholding the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism. Taken as a whole, one can see that what is understood by “staying to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism” in the “Proposition” of the PTB is staying to the phraseology of Marxism-Leninism, not to its essence.

At this point, we must say that the declared goal of the improved version of the draft has been watered down a little, the aim of unity has been drawn back and the aim of discussion pushed further. But as we said earlier, there is no essential difference.

Apropos “The former divisions between Marxist-Leninist Parties can be overcome”

It is utterly wrong to say that, although the main responsibility for the split in the International Communist Movement is blamed on Khrushchev revisionism, “the influence of ultra-left attitudes” also played a role. First of all, it remains totally in the dark who is meant by “ultra-left”.

We do not know of any “ultra-left” current whose errors played a role in the split in 1956.

In actual fact, the split did not take place in 1956, either. Long after 1956, Marxist-Leninist forces (led by the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania) who resisted some of the avowedly modern revisionist views of the Khrushchev revisionists, sought compromises with them out of concern for not violating the unity, and they themselves upheld many a revisionist view. The Joint Declarations of 1957 and 1960 are predominantly revisionist documents in which Marxist-Leninist views coexist with revisionist views. That is to say, inside the current opposing modern revisionism, not “ultra-left” attitudes, but rightist, revisionist attitudes and errors were on the order of the day.

In the improved draft now the influence of “ultra-left attitudes” is carried over to the stage of the “anti-revisionist movement itself splitting”. To give up speaking of the influence of “ultra-left” attitudes during the split in 1956 is undoubtedly an improvement. But not to give up the claim that “ultra-left errors” were also to blame for it, albeit at a later time, cannot be explained otherwise than as an effort to seek compromise with modern revisionism. This is totally wrong.

* In paragraph #2, in the assessment of the situation, it is clearly stated that the “pro-Soviet” (i.e. modern revisionist, counter-revolutionary) current, the “pro-Chinese” current (i.e. the Marxist-Leninist current in the shape under which it had emerged in the sixties, upholding the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism notwithstanding its grave errors; later the counter-revolutionary current of the “Theory of Three Worlds”), the “pro-Albanian” current (i.e. the revisionist current shaped on the basis of the denial of Mao Zedong and the Chinese revolution), the “pro-Cuban” current (centrist opportunist current) and the “independents” beside them are all tendencies within Marxism-Leninism. This is a case of muddling things up.

The call to “stay to the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism” is here practically misinterpreted as a call to stay to the phraseology of Marxism-Leninism. To count all these currents to Marxism-Leninism has no other meaning.

It is impossible to reunite all the said parties and currents. Just as it is impossible to unite all these forces, some of which are counter-revolutionary, some revolutionary, some pseudo-Marxist-Leninist and some genuine Marxist-Leninist, it is equally absurd from the point of view of Marxism-Leninism to desire such a thing and present this as the “unity of International Communist Movement”.

* Revisionism did not turn into open treason in the nineties. Marxist-Leninist forces had already ascertained at the beginning of the sixties that revisionism had turned into open treason, and after 1968 the Soviet Union was correctly and publicly declared a social-imperialist power. The project of incorporating the holders of contradictory views on this point into a “Marxist-Leninist unity” is a project of sponging over deep ideological differences. This is an opportunist project.

That modern revisionism is the most dangerous ideological enemy of Marxism-Leninism, is not anything new, either. Since its emergence, it has been and continues to be

the most dangerous ideological enemy of Marxism-Leninism. Paying lip service to this fact can not be a sufficient reason and argument for unity at this point in time.

In the Declaration and Statement of 1957 and 1960, too, it is said that modern revisionism is the main ideological enemy. But it is left unsaid what modern revisionism is, who is modern revisionist etc. Quite the contrary, in the same documents the line of the XX. Party Congress of the CPSU was lauded to the skies. Unless modern revisionists are named concretely and publicly, saying that "modern revisionism is the main ideological enemy" in a joint declaration now will not do any good.

* Breaking with modern revisionism has not weakened the International Communist Movement, on the contrary, it has created possibilities for raising it to its feet again. What has weakened the International Communist Movement is that it has not been able to realize this break fully and timely. In this sense it is wrong to say that "the various splits that have occurred over the last 35 years have seriously weakened the entire International Communist Movement". As long and inasmuch as splits contribute to purging the ranks from revisionism and breaking with it, they are desirable and do not weaken the Marxists-Leninists.

In the improved draft now, the clause that "The various divisions and splits that have occurred over the last 35 years have seriously weakened the entire International Communist Movement" is struck out thoroughly, but only apparently. In reality, however, the understanding behind it is fully there. In this sense, striking out this clause does not rectify the error.

As a party true to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, we wholly and totally reject to unite with modern revisionists and all hues of opportunists in the World Communist Movement. Groups with which we struggle to overcome the differences with the aim of unity are firstly those groups which we assess as Marxist-Leninist, and apart from these, those about which we do not make a general assessment as revisionist or opportunist, or among the opportunist groups those which we consider to be revolutionary and open to discussion and development.

* To unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is also our call. Even in such a unity, there will be differences of opinion, and even serious differences of opinion at that. But the essence of the matter is that, these cannot be differences of opinion in the essential questions of Marxism-Leninism, in the fundamental questions of proletarian world revolution.

There can be no compromise on the essential matters of Marxism-Leninism in the name of unity. This is opportunism.

Apropos "Fight revisionism and defend Marxism-Leninism"

* First of all, the international "Communist Movement" was not established in 1919. Its history is much older than the history of Comintern established in 1919. The World

Communist Movement, whose programme was outlined in the "Communist Manifesto", exists since 1848.

That this movement maintained its revolutionary orientation, unity and strength and increased its influence until 1956, is a fact. However, this unity strengthened itself through constant struggle against opportunism and revisionism, by "purging itself from opportunism". The main ideological reason for the strength of this movement was its irreconcilatory stand against opportunism. Notwithstanding this, revisionism began to develop within the ranks of this movement towards the end of the forties. A principled struggle was waged against it under the leadership of Stalin. This struggle was interrupted after the death of Stalin. It is of no avail to claim the history of Comintern and to laud its traditions unless we put forward all these things.

To claim the common history of the International Communist Movement is a correct demand. But when we know the forces from which the Belgian Party of Labour demands this and with which it plans to claim this common history of the International Communist Movement, this demand is tantamount to giving a Marxist-Leninist varnish to an opportunist notion of unity.

* Certain correct statements made with respect to Lenin and Stalin in the "Proposition" are like isles giving this opportunist document an eclectic outfit. That these correct statements can also be signed by e.g. some avowed revisionists, does not augur well for the unity of the World Communist Movement.

With respect to what is said in the "Proposition" about Stalin, having "forgotten" to say that he foresaw that revisionism in power would be the bourgeoisie in power, and that he gave leadership to the struggle against revisionism, is no coincidence. This is a reflection of the false notion that Mao rectified and overcame the errors of Stalin. This is no consistent defence of Stalin, but a defence of Stalin in line with Mao Zedong Thought.

* That Khrushchev "imposed" a revisionist line is a statement that doesn't grasp the degree of prevalency and devastation wreaked by revisionism on the CPSU as well as on the World Communist Movement. Khrushchev imposed on nobody a line by force. He simply formulated his overt revisionist line and presented it to the XX. Party Congress. Unfortunately, this revisionist line of Khrushchev was not met with sufficient and consequent resistance. The great majority of the CPSU Congress as well as the overwhelming majority of the World Communist Movement applauded this revisionist line. Some went even further in their rightist drive. Knowing all these facts, it is utterly wrong to put the matter as a question of "imposition".

Likewise it is wrong to present the matter as the revisionist attacks beginning in 1956. As a matter of fact, the attacks had already begun as Stalin was alive, and revisionism in the shape of Tito revisionism within the World Communist movement had already come to power in 1948. In many parties in the West, revisionism was either predominant or making headway towards dominance. In the CPSU itself, revisionism was rais-

ing its head in various fields. In the CPC, revisionists were holding many important posts, etc. The Belgian Party of Labour skips over all these facts in its "Proposition".

* In the statements over the Brezhnev period, the most important aspect of this period is passed over in silence: the fact that revisionist politics was integrated with social-imperialist practice. And silence in questions of social-imperialism has a reason: an opportunist notion for unity.

* To transfer the power of new bourgeoisie into the Gorbachov era is tantamount to saying that the state power in the foregoing periods was, in spite of everything, a state power of the working class. This is a case of not grasping that revisionism in power is the bourgeoisie in power.

* Undoubtedly, it was not genuine Communism that collapsed and was defeated by classical imperialism in the beginning of the nineties. Defeated was the reign of revisionism practised in the name of socialism and Communism. However, one can also speak of the defeat of Marxism-Leninism in one sense; in the sense that assumption of power by revisionism was the defeat of Marxism-Leninism. The task is to grasp this correctly. When this is understood in the correct manner, then one can also do away with looking for a "Marxist-Leninist unity" on the basis of compromising with revisionism. Only then can one realize that the only correct stand against revisionism is uncompromising struggle against it. One can grasp the necessity of fully clarifying the differences "before we unite, and in order that we may unite".

* In the "Proposition" there are some correct statements such as that the "attacks on Stalinism are attacks on Marxism-Leninism", that "anti-Stalinism is a Trojan horse", etc. on the one hand, but on the other hand a discussion is demanded about the assessment of the Stalin era. The "Proposition" stands here on an eclectic footing.

We have presented our views on the assessment of Stalin in various publications. For us, a "discussion" on this subject is a discussion for making others understand these views.

* One can not put the question of errors committed in the struggle against Khrushchev revisionism as a question of "underestimating Khrushchev revisionism." Rather, it is a matter of upholding certain revisionist views oneself, and in some places compromising with them in the name of unity.

* Mao Zedong was the major Marxist-Leninist leader in the sixties in the struggle against modern revisionism. But unfortunately he also had some serious errors. Enver Hoxha also made some important contributions to this struggle inasmuch as he sided with Mao Zedong. But different from Mao Zedong, he became the architect and defender of a revisionist line in his late period. To speak of important contributions of Ho Chi-Minh, Kim Il Sung and Che Guevara to the struggle against revisionism is a distortion of historical facts. The latter have taken a "centrist" position and in the last analysis weakened the struggle against modern revisionism. The reason for presenting them all as one

and the same is the PTB's notion of holding all and sundry who profess to be Marxist-Leninists for Marxist-Leninists.

* We have clear-cut views on Mao Zedong as well. We hold him for a great Marxist-Leninist, albeit with errors. Unfortunately, he was not able to draw the necessary lessons from the experience of the Soviet Union to the necessary extent. That he made the first attempt in history to draw the masses into the fight against degenerative tendencies within the Party, is a wrong statement made on the basis of failure to recognize what has been done in the Soviet Union in this respect in the past.

* We are in favor of an impartial discussion for the unity of the World Communist Movement, but a discussion among the forces which really uphold the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism and which we assess as not overtly revisionist and opportunist, or at least open to discussion and development. Our "discussion" with others is not and will not be a discussion with the aim of unity.

* In the "Proposition" it is stated that the struggle against revisionism is a complex and prolonged task. This is correct. But how can one struggle against revisionism together with the revisionists? Knowing which forces the PTB wants to unite with, these correct views formulated by the PTB here also do not but serve as garniture.

Apropos "Fight splittism and maintain unity"

First of all, we are not for a unity with the revisionists and opportunists. What we are saying is that breaking with revisionism and opportunism, splitting from them is not bad, but good from the point of view of Marxism-Leninism, and the sooner and more radical this break, all the better.

We are not for a unity for unity's sake, a unity at all costs, a unity of self-baptised Marxist-Leninists with other alleged Marxist-Leninists. We are for the unity of genuine Marxist-Leninists on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist platform.

Presently, we do not see any unity worth to maintain.

As for the points raised in this part of the "Proposition":

* One of the gravest errors committed in the struggle against Khrushchev revisionism is that the initiative to split was left to the revisionists. And the unity of the International Communist Movement did not begin with the "expulsion" of parties opposing revisionism. In actual fact, the unity was destroyed by modern revisionism attaining dominance. The apparent unity was an illusion, serving only to deceive the workers. The thing to do was to expose modern revisionism openly and publicly, frontally and in a principled manner, i. e. to grasp the initiative of splitting. It was an unpardonable error to leave this initiative to the modern revisionists, an error, the consequences of which we are experiencing even now.

In its "Proposition" the Belgian Party of Labour metes out, apart from the modern revisionists, a co-responsibility to "ultra-Left" forces, the identity of which it fails to furnish, in order to hide the responsibility of modern revisionism in connection with the

split. In this connection, the PTB skips over the decisive question, the question of which side was right in these splits, which side had the truth on its side. All this is a product of the policy of "lest offend anybody".

* It is totally wrong to say that every party applies the Marxist-Leninist principles to the present reality according to its own concept, for the great majority of the said parties is applying opportunism and revisionism in the name of Marxism-Leninism. Therein lies the essence of the matter. Secondly, Marxism-Leninism is a science whose principles are valid universally, and one can check their correct or incorrect application. To take the "own concept ... of every party" for legal tender is tantamount to upholding national Marxism. Truth can not be defined according to each party. There is only one truth. And all Marxist-Leninist parties can check this, and are duty-bound to check it. The idea of "its own concept" complements the idea of holding any and every self-baptised Marxist-Leninist for a Marxist-Leninist.

In the improved proposal, the word "conception" was substituted for "concept". In addition, a new sentence was added that "Nobody can demand concessions on questions judged to be questions of principle." The first amendment is a formal one, the essence remains the same. The second amendment is a fig-leaf, assuming the role of covering up one's weakness. Instead of saying there can be no concessions on questions of principle, it is preferred to say that "Nobody can demand concessions on questions judged to be questions of principle", thus paving the way for defining principles according to one's liking, and the question is reduced and distorted to that of whether one has the right to "demand" or not.

* It is true that the imperialist bourgeoisie rejoices at and even incites splits. So true as this may be, it is equally true that there may well be instances where the violation of principles makes it necessary for the Marxist-Leninists themselves to set the split on the order of the day. The argument of the Belgian Party of Labour here, that the imperialist bourgeoisie wants splits, is in actual fact a demagogical argument that serves to justify its unprincipled notion of unity.

Once again: We are not for an unprincipled unity.

* To demand unity with right and left opportunism within the ranks of the "World Communist Movement" in order to learn from their negative aspects is in the last analysis a demand for making the world proletarian revolution impossible. The proletarian world revolution can and will be led to victory by the World Communist Movement only when it unites on the basis of a correct platform and wages an incessant struggle against errors and mistakes both within and outside its ranks.

Apropos "Organizational Proposals"

* It is not a realist, but an opportunist call, and ridiculous, for self-named Marxist-Leninists once a year or once every two years to come together for the purpose of creating the unity of the World Communist Movement. From the point of view of establis-

hing the unity of World Communist Movement, such meetings can have a meaning only in the sense that it may create an opportunity for some Marxist-Leninist organizations participating in these meetings of getting to know other Marxist-Leninist organizations which they did not know till then. We would participate in these meetings only for this purpose, and for the purpose of making our views better known in the international plane, for the purpose of making the unsuitability of opportunist notions of unity to the participants.

* We are against naming opportunist groups of various currents as Marxist-Leninist, and reject such an eclectic organization bureau as proposed by the PTB categorically.

* We would hold such an initiative not for a "united communist initiative", but for one of the united opportunist initiatives, and name it as such.

* We would take advantage of the possibility of participating in the planned and proposed seminars to uphold the Marxist-Leninist views against opportunism. Furthermore, we are in favor of publishing the views of a series of self-named Marxist-Leninist groups, provided we do not assess them as counter-revolutionary, in our central organ or in other publications, and discussing with them on the basis of reciprocity.

Apparently this section of the proposal was subject to most alterations and amendments in wording. But these have no bearing on its essence. For this reason, everything that we said about the proposal last year hold true also for the improved version.

To sum up:

The proposal of the Belgian Party of Labour "For the Unity of the World Communist Movement" is in its understanding a document of the opportunist notion of unity. It is an incorrigible proposal, its ground tenor is wrong. The unity of the World Communist Movement cannot be established on the basis of such an understanding. It must be wholly rejected.

March 1996

**Editorial Board of
Bolşevik Partizan,
Central Organ of the
Bolshevik Party (North Kurdistan/Turkey)**



The Struggle Against Imperialism Can Not Be Taken up Separate from the Struggle Against Opportunism!

During the last period, there have been increased efforts to unite the so called Marxist-Leninist and anti-imperialist forces internationally.

Two main projects contend for bringing about the international unity of various forces speaking in the name of Marxism-Leninism, socialism and Communism. The first project holds it for possible to unite "the Marxist-Leninist forces" organizationally around a center even now and takes steps towards realizing it. Here, there are many competing initiatives.

There is a center of the Maoists (who call themselves openly "Maoists"). There is the initiative of those who hold Mao Zedong Thought for a new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism but who reject the term Maoism, to build a central structure.

There is a center led by North Korea. There is a center which the former PLA (Party of Labor of Albania) supporters are trying to create. There is an initiative led by the Belgian Party of Labour (PTB) aiming to gather all groups that call themselves Marxist-Leninist, socialist in a central structure. There are efforts of the former modern revisionist parties to gather themselves again.

The second project sets out from the premise that today the organizational unity of the International Communist Movement is not possible and therefore proposes to build a broad unity at a lower level on the basis of anti-imperialism. Here, there are also a series of initiatives. Many parties take part in both projects.

We Bolsheviks from North Kurdistan/Turkey say that steps towards uniting the genuine Marxist-Leninists, Bolsheviks should stand at the center of gravity of the steps to be taken towards international unity. We say that today conditions for the organizational unity of the Marxist-Leninist forces at the international level do not exist.

Naturally, this does not mean there is nothing to do in this field. On the contrary: One should do all one can to sort out, on the basis of a principled and open and public ideological struggle, the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces from among those who hold modern revisionism for the main enemy, and unite them on a correct Marxist-Leninist platform. For this reason we hold it for an important duty to carry our own views into the international meetings organized by various project holders.

In connection with the second project, there is a meeting in November of this year in India. The organizer of this meeting is an organization called SUCI (Socialist Unity Center of India).

We have not studied all central documents of this organization which claims to uphold Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong. But so far as we studied some of them, this study has shown us that some basic positions of this organization are utterly wrong, revisionist positions (its assessment of present-day North Korea, China and Cuba as so-

cialist countries, its assessment that what collapsed in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union in the nineties was socialism etc.)

Here is what we have to say about the appeal of this organization for the anti-imperialist convention to be held under its leadership:

We hold the objective of uniting the anti-imperialist forces internationally on a revolutionary, anti-imperialist platform for correct. And the meetings for this purpose, we find, are useful inasmuch as they are handled as an opportunity for exchange of views, for waging an open and public ideological struggle for the correct line, as an opportunity for the groups to get to know each other more closely. However, when more functions are assigned to these meetings than the ones mentioned above in the present circumstances (e.g., to realize the organization of a center of anti-imperialist forces), we find it wrong.

For this reason, we find it utterly wrong to fix the goal of the meeting organized by SU-CI as "giving this growing anti-imperialist popular opinion and resistance an organisational shape through an international united forum".

In a situation where there are deep differences of opinion even on such a topic as what is to be understood by anti-imperialism, under conditions in which there is not even a center of the International Communist Movement, it is clear right from the start that the project of "giving the anti-imperialist resistance an organisational shape" is impossible. One can pass certain resolutions of recommendation on organizing international campaigns on this or that subject, one can take preliminary steps towards certain cooperations in implementing these recommendatory resolutions. But that's it. To expect more in the present circumstances would be nothing but a hollow assertion.

We Bolsheviks are of the opinion that, as Lenin teaches us, one cannot take up a resolute and consequent struggle against imperialism separate from such a struggle against opportunism. Undoubtedly, the forces and the platform of anti-imperialist struggle are not one and the same with, but much wider than those of the communist struggle. But the platform of anti-imperialist struggle cannot be contrary to that of the communist struggle. To be concrete, the platform of anti-imperialist struggle must in this respect furnish the fulfilment of following minimum demands:

- * The platform of anti-imperialist struggle must oppose the entire world imperialist system, and not single imperialist powers.

- * The platform of anti-imperialist struggle must be revolutionary, and not reformist, i.e., it must reject the illusions of imperialism improving itself through reforms, and should openly present the solution as the destruction of imperialism by the proletarian world revolution.

- * The platform of anti-imperialist struggle must make a correct analysis of the main and reserve forces of anti-imperialist struggle and its friends and foes.

When we look at the appeal on the basis of these demands, we can say the following:

* Although the appeal mentions imperialism in its entirety here and there, it turns out that the main enemy of the appeal is US imperialism. It is clear that there, where the appeal says “the most critical question arising out of this situation and facing mankind today is, ... whether ... a country which refuses to obey the US dictate...”, the main target of the appeal is not imperialism in its entirety, but US imperialism, its aggression and dictate etc.

Such an approach objectively presents the peoples only one imperialist power – the outstanding imperialist power – as the enemy and leaves all other imperialist powers outside the target area. It is only one step from here to presenting other imperialist powers as possible allies of the peoples. We see here clearly the traces of modern revisionism, of the Three Worlds Theory. The “two superpowers” of the Three Worlds Theory are replaced here by the US imperialism.

* Not only is imperialism reduced to the US imperialism in the appeal, moreover, in its stand against imperialism the appeal lacks the clarity of having to destroy imperialism through revolution, that this is the only way to get rid of imperialism. Thus, the door is left open to the idea that in the course of struggle against the US imperialism, imperialism (maybe the US imperialism itself!) can be reformed.

* The world assessment of the appeal, its assessment of the anti-imperialist forces in the world is also utterly wrong. First and foremost, the appeal is in a wrong position when it speaks of “the collapse of socialism in the Soviet Union and the east European socialist states”. The aforementioned states most certainly stopped being socialist from the middle of the sixties onwards. These were countries in which monopoly bureaucratic state capitalism reigned supreme, they were internally social-fascist, externally social-imperialist states. They were not friends, but foes of the peoples, not allies, but targets of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle. Further, the appeal is in a wrong position when it speaks of a “socialist” Cuba, a “socialist” North Korea today. That these countries are subject to the threats and blockade of US imperialism and other Western imperialists, and call themselves socialist, does not mean they are socialist. These countries are indeed not under the direct control of imperialist great powers, but they are inside the imperialist system. It is utterly wrong to present these countries as allies of a genuine anti-imperialist struggle.

In saying that the most critical question facing mankind today is “whether or not a country which refuses to obey the US dictate would succeed to retain its independent existence”, the appeal makes these countries the main forces of anti-imperialist struggle. When this is the most critical question, then all forces must be mobilized to maintain the independent existence of these countries. Alas, such an anti-imperialist struggle would not be a genuine anti-imperialist struggle. At the most, this would be a struggle of those forces opposed to US imperialism to guard the states threatened by it momentarily. If one approaches the problem in this manner, one could equally easily say that the regimes in Iran, Iraq, Libya, which the US imperialism wants to destroy, should be count-

ed to the main forces of anti-imperialist struggle. The fallacy of this should be apparent to all. Especially for those claiming to be Marxist-Leninists!
For these basic reasons, we reject to take part in an eventual unity based on this or a similar appeal.

20 September, 1995

**Editorial Board of
“Bolşevik Partizan”,
Central Organ of the
Bolshevik Party (North Kurdistan–Turkey)**



SPEECH DELIVERED BY COMRADE SELMA YETER IN THE OPEN SESSION OF ANTI-IMPERIALIST CONVENTION AT CAL- CUTTA ON 14.11.1995 ON BEHALF OF BP(KK/T)

We are greeting all participants of this meeting with the warmest feelings in the name of our Party, the Bolshevik Party of North Kurdistan and Turkey.

Today we have a world system where internationalization of capital is at the highest level.

The imperialist system is pushing the great majority of mankind to poverty and worst misery. The imperialist exploitation has no limits. The barbarism of imperialism is ruling all over the world by war, capitalist exploitation, national oppression, male chauvinism, racism and fascism. Against the international highly organized capital, against imperialist system, the most important task is to unite the struggle of all workers and oppressed peoples in order to smash the imperialist world system.

We Bolsheviks from North Kurdistan/Turkey are aware that the history of anti-imperialist struggle in India and Turkey has proved one thing very clear:

In the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution the anti-imperialist struggle must be led by the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist parties and as a part of the world proletarian revolution. Only then can revolution lead to real and total liberation of the country. But if the anti-imperialist struggle is led by the bourgeoisie the revolution cannot succeed and at the end there will be only change of the ruling forms of imperialism.

In this consciousness we have come to discuss here about the proposal of the Anti-Imperialist Convention.

The slogans of the Communist International of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have also today guiding significance for the anti-imperialist struggle:

Workers of all countries, unite!

Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!

Long live proletarian internationalism!



Speech of Bolshevik Party of North Kurdistan/Turkey in the Delegate Session of Anti-Imperialist Convention in Calcutta on 16.11.1995

MERHABA! SELAM!

Sisters and Brothers, Friends and Comrades!

I convey you from our Party, the Bolshevik Party of North Kurdistan/Turkey, the warmest revolutionary greetings.

With the consciousness of the great proletarian international tasks, our Party started to engage in the various initiatives for the unity of the world Marxist-Leninist Movement and for an anti-imperialist unity. Actually there is a Delegation of our Party here in India, to meet different revolutionary parties and organizations aiming at these above mentioned tasks.

In this context, we are also participating in the meeting for anti-imperialist convention initiated by SUCI. We thought that this meeting is mainly a small meeting of discussion between different organizations and delegates. This misunderstanding came from a lack of communication. Also, we got the Draft Declaration very late. Due to lack of enough time, we could not take position in an adequate way. Therefore, we were not prepared enough for a delegate session of this form. We have remarked this at the Open Session of 14th November. The Open Session was very impressive for us. We saw that tens of thousands of toilers were demonstrating for anti-imperialism, socialism and communism. In a situation when the imperialist bourgeoisie declares the end of Communism, the Open Session demonstrated quite the opposite. We are glad for having this experience and thankful to all participants of that session.

We greet any initiative for an anti-imperialist unity all over the world, because it is fundamentally necessary for fighting against imperialism. Imperialism is the main enemy of the proletariat and all oppressed people of the world. The main task is smashing the imperialist system, which is the highest stage of capitalism, for liberating mankind from all sorts of slavery, exploitation, national oppression and male chauvinism. For this reason, we greet all anti-imperialist initiatives.

But these initiatives must be targeted towards solving the above-mentioned tasks on a correct foundation. Concerning this aspect, we have fundamental differences with the Draft Declaration and we did not get enough time to exchange with the organizers on those points; so we are participating here as Observers.

We Bolsheviks are of the opinion that, as Lenin teaches us, one cannot take up a resolute and consequent struggle against imperialism separate from such a struggle against opportunism. Undoubtedly, the forces and the platform of anti-imperialist struggle are not one and the same with, but much wider than those of the communist struggle. But the platform of anti-imperialist struggle cannot be contrary to that of the communist struggle. To be concrete, the platform of anti-imperialist struggle must in this respect furnish the fulfilment of following minimum demands:

* The platform of anti-imperialist struggle must counterpose the entire world imperialist system, and not single imperialist powers;

* The platform of anti-imperialist struggle must be revolutionary, and not reformist. That is, it must reject the illusions of imperialism improving itself through reforms, and should openly present the solution as the destruction of imperialism by the proletarian world revolution;

* The platform of anti-imperialist struggle must make a correct analysis of the main and reserve forces of anti-imperialist struggle and its friends and foes.

When we look at the Draft Declaration on the basis of these demands we can say the following:

* Although the Declaration mentions imperialism in its entirety here and there, it turns out that the main enemy is US imperialism.

For example, in the pages 1–3 only aggression of the US imperialism are concretely enumerated; or as the Declaration – page 9 – says regarding the contradiction between the imperialist great powers:

“France, Germany and other such powers are *no longer ready* to submit to the dictates of the US. The contradiction among the imperialists is getting more and more sharpened.”

The French and German imperialists in the last decades were not at all under the US dictatorship. They are great imperialist powers besides others and fighting with American imperialism for the world hegemony.

Such an approach objectively presents the peoples only one imperialist power – the outstanding imperialist power – as the enemy and leaves all other imperialist powers outside the target area. It is only one step from here to presenting other imperialist powers as possible allies of the peoples. We see here clearly the traces of modern revisionism of the Three Worlds Theory. The “Two Superpowers” of the Three Worlds Theory are replaced here by the US imperialism.

Not only is imperialism reduced to the US imperialism in the Draft Declaration, moreover, in its stand against imperialism it lacks the clarity of having to destroy imperialism through revolution, that this is the only way to get rid of imperialism. Thus, the door is left open to the idea that in the course of struggle against the US imperialism, imperialism can be reformed.

So the Declaration – page 11 – puts in front of the people of imperialist countries the task of

“fighting the anti-people policies of their respective governments”, and not the task to smash the imperialist states by revolution. For the people of oppressed countries the Declaration – page 12 – puts the task of fighting against GATT, WTO, Globalization and “to develop movements against their respective governments even while fighting imperialism.” In contrary, it is the main task of these peoples to destroy

the state of their own ruling classes – the comprador bourgeoisie and landlords –, which is hand in glove with imperialism, by revolution.

The assessment of the Declaration on the world, its assessment of the anti-imperialist forces in the world is also utterly wrong. First and foremost, the appeal is in a wrong position when it speaks of

“dismantling of the socialist camp headed by the erstwhile Soviet Union.” (p. 1)

The aforementioned states most certainly stopped being socialist from the middle of the fifties onwards; these were countries in which monopoly bureaucratic state capitalism reigned supreme, they were internally social-fascist, externally social-imperialist states. They were not friends but foes of the peoples, not allies but targets of the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle.

Regarding the assessments of the Declaration about some states being called socialist, we have fundamental differences. Socialism that we want, is not what exists in the countries mentioned in the Draft. We want socialism as it existed in the Soviet Union under the leadership of the Communist Party led by Lenin and Stalin, like in the Cultural Revolution in China under the leadership of the Communist Party of China led by Mao Zedong.

There are a few other criticisms to the Draft Proposal. I will mention as a communist woman the total absence of the question of liberation of women as a fundamental task of anti-imperialist struggle and revolution. Imperialism is a patriarchal system and it perpetrates horrible oppression against the working and peasant women. Any anti-imperialist struggle not fighting against the patriarchal system is a half struggle and hence cannot be successful. We, oppressed women of all countries must and will be half of the strength for the struggle for liberation and socialism.

At the end we would stress out one point regarding the general positions in the Draft Declaration and some positions of some speakers before us. We are coming from a land, from Turkey, which has given the first national liberation war of this century against the imperialist intervention after the First World War, started in 1919, the anti-imperialist liberation war led by Mustafa Kemal. But Mustafa Kemal was representing the bourgeoisie and its interests in this war, he started to kill the communists like Mustafa Suphi, the leader of TKP. It was because of the leadership of the bourgeoisie that Mustafa Kemal reconciled with imperialism and established a fascist dictatorship. Imperialist powers were buying up the bourgeoisie. So for the oppressed people who were engaged in the liberation war, there was only the replacement of one form of imperialist rule by another. Colonialism was replaced by neo-colonialism. So far as we can appreciate, there was a similar development in your country. In the year 1947 independence was obtained in India by an anti-colonial liberation struggle under the bourgeoisie represented by leaders like Gandhi and Nehru.

Today we can see the results of such an independence very clearly. India has travelled from colonialism to neo-colonialism.

Today, we need anti-imperialist struggle more than ever. But not under the leadership of the bourgeoisie. All the experiences of the anti-imperialist wars and struggles of the world have proved this!

The only alternative is the proletarian world revolution. That means socialist revolution in imperialist countries and new democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat in oppressed countries.

So, that is what we want to say.

We want you to understand our criticism as a contribution in solidarity to this debate. It is how we feel it.

Coming to the end: first I will thank all friends and comrades for the organizing work of this meeting, for the deep fraternal revolutionary feelings for us. Thank you very much. Secondly, I want to excuse my bad English, but it is not my mother tongue, and English is not the only language of revolution. All languages of all people all over the world are languages of the revolution. We are speaking in different languages, we are from different genders, nationalities, races, etc., we are coming from different countries, but we have the same enemies, we will be the soldiers of one army, the army of the proletarian world revolution. We speak in different languages, but we will say the same.

In this consciousness, I close in my and your languages:

EMPERYALİZME ÖLÜM, TEK YOL DEVRİM!

SAMRADCEBAD NIPAT CAK!

INKYLAB CINDABAD!



Proposal for a Joint May Day Declaration
Appeal to the workers of all countries and oppressed peoples!

**RAISE THE BANNER OF LIBERATION,
RAISE THE BANNER OF REVOLUTION
ON MAY DAY!**

It is not fashionable nowadays to talk about the emancipation of wage labor, about the emancipation of peoples, about revolution, about a world without exploitation, without masters and slaves, about socialism and communism. None the less it is more than ever necessary to talk about it and to fight for it right now.

Should we believe the apologists of imperialism, communism is at its end since the beginning of the nineties, since the pitiful collapse of the modern revisionist social-imperialist block which had been sold as "real-existing socialism"! Capitalism is in the fight of the systems the victor – that is what the imperialists try to tell us by all means every day! They thereby hide the fact that the so-called "real-existing socialism" was nothing else than another form of capitalism, a bureaucratic state capitalism. As a matter of fact "the fight of the systems" after the takeover of Khrushchev revisionists in the Kremlin was in reality not a fight between socialism and capitalism but a fight between the two imperialist blocks.

What haven't they all promised in this mendacious alleged fight of the systems! They have talked of setting up a "New World Order" and there being no wars anymore! We have seen sufficiently in the nineties what this "New World Order" means!

* Still more might and wealth for a few imperialist great powers and capital. Still more misery and hunger for the great majority of mankind! Their own statistics say that today over a billion people live under the "absolute poverty line"! That is not living like a human-being, but eking out a bare existence! The main agents for the poverty of mankind, the biggest exploiters, parasites who get richer through the poverty of the majority, these bloodsuckers dare to say that the reason for this misery lies in "over-population", and appear on the scene as alms distributing philanthropists! The only "excess population" are the exploiting ruling classes all over the world! They grab all the wealth produced by toilers. For the toilers, the true creators of all value, at best only their survival is made possible. The fact that the economic condition of the working masses in imperialist countries are partly better than that of their class sisters and brothers in dependent countries changes nothing in the fact that they also are exploited.

* Still more unjust, reactionary wars. Thousands over thousands of war casualties and injured, millions over millions on flight. According to their own statements over a 100 million people are on the flight to secure their bare survival! Working classes of diffe-

rent nations, religions, confessions, etc. have been stirred up against each other in the name of mendacious goals so that the masters of this world can remain masters and exploit further. For profit, more profit, maximum profit, for the domination of the world and for more spheres of influence etc., they wage reactionary wars. For these goals people are slaughtered! Look, everywhere in the world people kill each other with the most modern weapons. And the real instigators and profiteers of these wars, the imperialists, mendacious as they are, wash their hands in innocence. Yes, shamelessly they even appear as the defenders of peace! In former Yugoslavia for example they have given an object lesson in imperialistic mendacity.

* Everywhere, the prattle about “democratization”, “universal values”, “civilian society”, “human rights” etc. on the one hand, and on the other hand, however, in reality, restriction of formerly hard-won democratic rights, push for the militarisation of society, fascisation etc. This is the answer of imperialist capital to the economic crisis which has been intensified under the conditions of contention for the redivision of the world. The working class and toilers should carry the burden of the economic crisis. The result: all over the world galloping unemployment figures, revocation of social rights, pushing women out of the direct production process etc. Eventual resistance against this development is nipped in the bud, and for continuing and coming wars of plunder the home front should be quietened. Fascisation and militarisation serve this end. Lest the toilers get the idea of calling imperialist domination into question, they are constantly bombed with all the might of new media. Aggressive nationalism, racism, every kind of religion and mysticism, egoism, flight into inwardness etc. split the toilers and make them to appendages of capital interests.

* Not only the toilers, but also the whole nature is for the capitalists nothing other than an object of exploitation. To wring out the maximum profit in shortest possible time by all means is the motto and the logic of capital. The essential natural resources of the world are destroyed for maximum profit. The foundations of life are slowly but surely being destroyed fully. And on the other hand the agents of this development use this development for the survival of their system. On top of everything else these biggest scoundrels have the impudence to appear as the advocates of environmental interests in matters of environmental destruction. The biggest polluter states want to prescribe the peoples of dependent countries what to do and not to do! And the multinational corporations, the biggest agents of destruction, discover their heart for green. All parties of imperialism publish nowadays their programs on recycling paper and declare environmental protection to supreme priority. What hypocrisy! On the one hand a policy of obfuscation is pursued with environmental destruction caused by imperialists. A situation of fear is produced. Visions of “world’s end” are brought into circulation, suggesting helplessness to the working masses. “It is all good for nothing, live your life!” is the motto. On the other hand in the name of “global”, “universal”, “classless” interests of mankind, the real class contradictions are concealed. Joint struggle of all for global goals

is the motto! Not something outdated like struggle of the exploited and oppressed against their oppressors. What a deceit!

In short: The "New World Order" is nothing but the old imperialist world order with a new name!

It is the order of exploitation and maximum profit!

It is the order of national oppression!

It is the order of reactionary wars, and imperialist dictated peace!

It is the order of patriarchy!

It is the order of environmental destruction, and plunder of natural resources!

It is the order of neo-colonialism, and plunder of dependent countries!

It is the order of the domination of the dead over the living, of yesterday over today and tomorrow!

The new world order is the long-known imperialist order of BARBARISM!

Despite all prophecy of doom there is only one alternative to this downfall into barbarism: that is SOCIALISM! COMMUNISM!

SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM: This is not the ossified-bureaucratic dictatorship of a few bureaucrats and technocrats over the working class in the name of the working class! SOCIALISM, COMMUNISM: This is not the dictatorship à la Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Honecker, Kim Il Sung, Deng Hsiao Ping, yes also not that of Castro or whatever they are all called. Socialism and communism: This is nothing other than the emancipation of labor from exploitation!

Socialism, that is the rule of workers and toilers over themselves.

Socialism is a self-determined, voluntary collective life of free individuals in a truly free society. The great proletarian revolution of the 20th century showed us that this is possible and that socialism is the only correct alternative to imperialist order. The Great Proletarian October Revolution in 1917 has broken the ice! The successful construction of socialism under the leadership of the CPSU of Lenin and Stalin is also today an incentive for all who fight for socialism. Also the Chinese new-democratic revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution illuminate the path of struggle against imperialism and all reaction. That in all erstwhile socialist countries the counter-revolution in the guise of revisionists and new bourgeoisie had risen to power is no proof of the impossibility of socialism! These defeats are temporary episodes in a long, protracted struggle.

We will not be presented the gift of Socialism, the power of workers and toilers. We have to fight for it. We can fight for it only in and through the permanent proletarian revolution. The history shows that for the victory of revolution the working class needs a political vanguard. The Communist Party!

Now the May Day is approaching. The May Day stands for the proletariat in the tradition of revolutionary class struggles against capital, for the emancipation of labor, for socialism!

The May Day emerged in bloody class struggles for the 8 hour working day! It emerged in the struggle of the international working class against capital!

The bourgeoisie everywhere in the world has two tactics against this day: Either prohibition and bloody suppression, or absorption of this day as a day of class conciliation, as a day of the unification of capital with labor, according to the motto: "We are all in the same boat"!

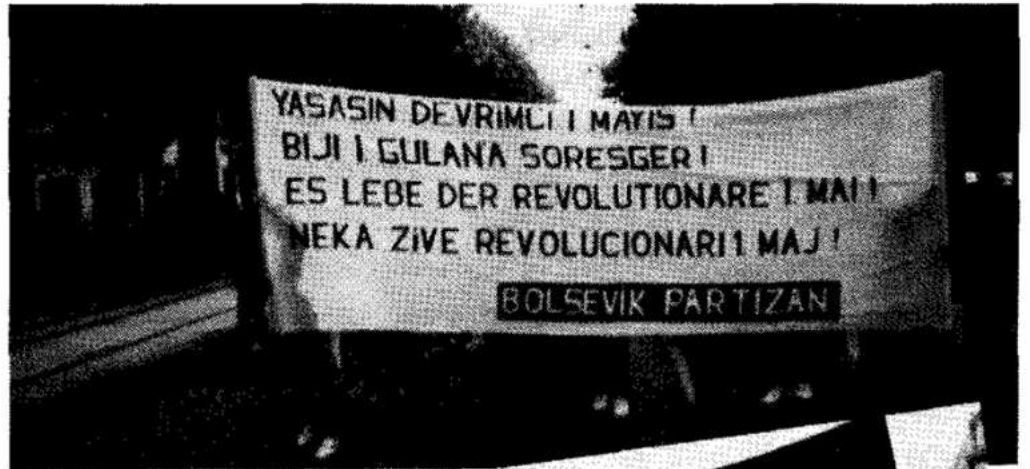
It is our task all over the world to celebrate the May Day in a revolutionary manner, that means as a day of demonstration of the forces of the proletariat and oppressed peoples against imperialist world system, as a day of irreconcilability to capital, as a declaration of war for a new, socialist world!

It is nowadays much clearer than ever before that the alternative stands only between: **SOCIALISM OR BARBARISM!**

The world is today objectively ripe for socialism. It is our fault that still imperialistic barbarism rules! We are the overwhelming majority of the world! We are the creators of all value! We are the ones who work and produce! Let us get organized! Let us grasp our power! Let us conquer the world!

We will make it!

March 1996



Following brochures in the series "Important Articles from Bolşevik Partizan" are available in English:

Nr. 1: "On the Unity of the World Marxist-Leninist Movement"

Document from July 1981 on the Conference of the RCP USA and RCP Chile

Nr. 2: Joint Declaration of the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist and the Marxist-Leninist Party of Austria (July 1978)

I. On the International Situation

II. The Situation of the World Marxist-Leninist Movement

Nr. 3: The 4th Congress of the TKP/ML(Bolshevik) Calls on the Workers of All Countries:

BARBARISM OR SOCIALISM!

Let us Wave the Flag of Revolution on May Day!

Nr. 4: The Emancipation of Oppressed Women (March 8, 1989)

Nr. 5: On the Occasion of Stalin's 100th Birthday Anniversary:

LET US LEARN FROM STALIN AND ACCOMPLISH THE TASKS AT HAND! (1979)

Nr. 6: WHO ARE WE?

History and Positions of the Bolshevik Party (North Kurdistan-Turkey)

Call of the Fifth Congress of the Bolshevik Party (North Kurdistan-Turkey)
(Nov. 1994)

Nr. 7: MAO ZEDONG

His Merits and Errors (August 1995)

**SOLIDARITY
MEANS
RESISTANCE!
FIGHT FASCISM IN
EVERY LAND!**

**AGAINST ALIEN'S LAWS AND
QUOTA REGULATIONS!
OPEN FRONTIERS!
LEAVE TO STAY FOR ALL!
EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL!**

**FIGHT FASCISM,
RACISM,
ANTI-SEMITISM,
IMPERIALISM,
PATRIARCHY AND
CAPITAL!**

**THE BROWN PLAGUE
ORIGINATES FROM THE
STATE!
STAND UP AND
FIGHT ITS BEGINNINGS!**

**FIGHT AGAINST THE
UNITED IMPERIALIST
STATES OF EUROPE!**

**WORKING
WOMEN AND MEN
OF ALL NATIONALITIES—
UNITED STRUGGLE
FRONT!**

**AGAINST THE
BARBARISM OF
ENVIRONMENTAL
DESTRUCTION!**

**LET'S
FIGHT FOR
SOCIALISM!**

**BOLSHEVIK PARTY
NORTH KURDISTAN/TURKEY**

IMPORTANT ARTICLES FROM

BOLŠEVİK PARTİZAN



THE EMANCIPATION OF OPPRESSED

WOMAN



March 1993

4

1 E • 6 FF • 2 -DM

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On the Occasion of Stalin's 100th Birth
Anniversary:

LET US
LEARN FROM
STALIN
AND
ACCOMPLISH
THE TASKS AT HAND! (1979)



October 1994

5

2 E • 9 FF • 3 -DM

IMPORTANT ARTICLES FROM

BOLŠEVİK PARTİZAN



who are we

History and Positions
of the Bolshevik Party
(North Kurdistan-Turkey)

Part of an ongoing project
to publish the history of the
Bolshevik Party in North Kurdistan

November 1994

6

2 E • 9 FF • 3 -DM

IMPORTANT ARTICLES FROM

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His Merits and Errors

August 1995

7

3 E • 12 FF • 4 -DM